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ABSTRACT

Each of the three issues of this volume of "Arab World Almanac" features a self-contained lesson plan on one aspect of the Arab world. The Fall, 1990 issue focuses on "Oil and the Arab World." The Winter, 1991 issue looks at "The Arab World in the World Wars." The Spring, 1991 issue examines "Islamic Revival in the Arab World." Each issue includes lesson objectives, classroom activities and resources, and selected background references or resources. The issues also included background essays, maps, articles, primary resources, and other materials. (DB)

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# Arab World Almanac

## Volume 2

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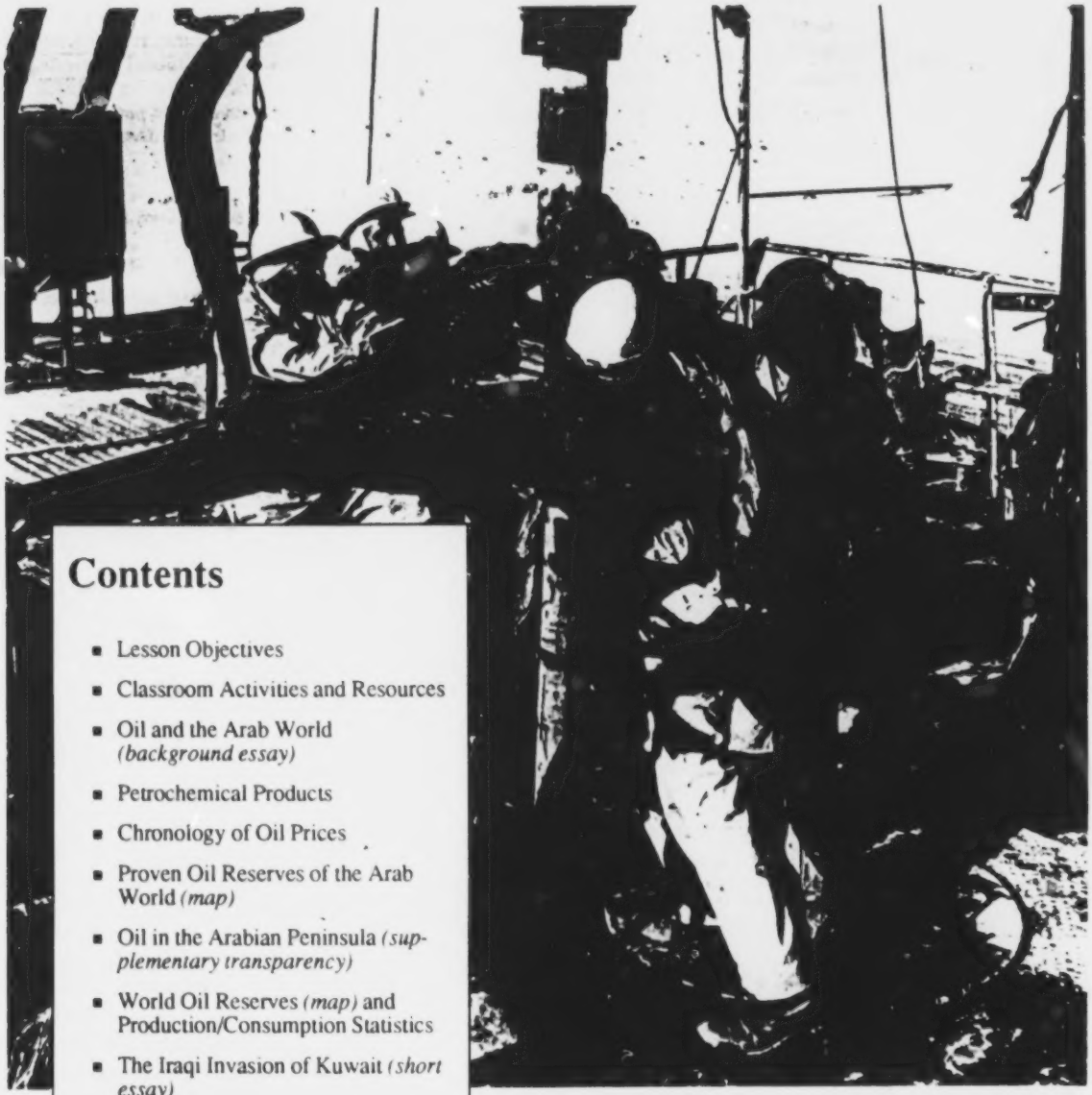
A PERIODICAL EDUCATIONAL RESOURCE FROM AMIDEAST
VOLUME 2, No. 1 FALL 1990



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*Ain Dar oil field, Saudi Arabia. Photo courtesy of Arabian American Oil Company.*

# Oil and the Arab World



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# Lesson Plan
# Oil and the Arab World

**Richard Nachajski served as a consultant in the development of the lesson plan for this issue of *Arab World Almanac*. Mr. Nachajski heads the social studies department at T. C. Williams High School in Alexandria, Virgina.**

Throughout history, human civilization has benefited from oil, but only after the Industrial Revolution did oil begin to assume its current importance. Much of the world's oil reserves are located in the Middle East, and with the growth in Western demand for oil, Western interest in the Middle East increased dramatically. Not all Arab countries have significant amounts of oil, and some have none at all. As a result, per capita GNP varies considerably throughout the region. Yet, virtually all Arab economies are dependent in some way or another upon the oil industry. Both oil importers and oil exporters are dependent upon the sale of oil, and because of this interdependence, seemingly local political crises and events can have a worldwide impact on the oil market.

At first, the oil companies in the Middle East were British and American owned, and they paid royalties to the host-country governments. Later, as anticolonial sentiments grew and the worldwide movement toward self-determination intensified, Middle Eastern leaders sought to gain greater control of the petroleum resources in their countries. The oil companies, Western governments, and Middle Eastern governments have all at one time or another attempted to control both the supply and price of Middle Eastern oil. Most major price increases, however, have resulted from political crises rather than directly from pricing decisions.

## Lesson Objectives

After completing this lesson, students should be able to:

- describe the interdependence between oil exporters and oil importers
- explain the effect on oil prices of political crises in the Middle East, using historical examples
- discuss why Middle Eastern oil in particular is so important
- describe what a cartel is and how it works; analyze the success of OPEC as a cartel
- discuss how oil revenues have contributed to development in oil-producing as well as non-oil-producing Arab countries
- discuss the extent to which oil was a factor in the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the resulting international confrontation; explain some of the other issues involved in the conflict and the perspectives of various parties involved

## Classroom Activities and Resources

✚ Distribute copies of "Oil and the Arab World" (or, incorporate the information contained in the essay into your own lecture). Some terms with which students may not be familiar have been printed in red. You may wish to ask students to define these terms using contextual clues. If so, underline the highlighted terms before photocopying the essay. The following discussion questions focus on the essay's main themes and further the lesson objectives outlined above.

1. Discuss the ways in which countries like the United States are dependent upon Middle Eastern oil. Have students list all the ways they can think of that we use petroleum. Then, distribute the list of petrochemical products provided on page 10. Ask students to compare their lists with *Arab World Almanac*'s list.

2. Discuss the ways in which Middle Eastern countries themselves—both oil-exporting and non-oil-exporting countries—are dependent upon the region's oil industry. Explain how oil importers and oil exporters are "interdependent."

3. Examine the figures for population and Gross National Product (GNP) in various Arab countries. How many countries have relatively high GNPs? What are their total populations? Answer the same questions for countries with relatively low GNPs. Now examine the population and per capita GNP figures for selected other countries in the

world. Where do most Arabs fit in comparison with other world peoples in terms of relative wealth? From what you already know about the economies of some of these other countries, for which ones do you think oil production and related industry contributes significantly to GNP?

4. Self-determination is one of the goals of most countries and peoples around the world. Discuss the basic principle of self-determination. What does it mean in a practical sense? Explain why, in the Middle East, the desire for self-determination led governments to obtain greater control over the oil resources and industries within their borders.

5. What are some of the reasons producers might have for wanting to form a cartel? Discuss the conditions necessary for a cartel to be successful. To what extent do you think OPEC has been a successful cartel?

6. The price of oil is an important consideration for both producers and consumers. How do high prices affect both oil-exporting and oil-importing countries? What effects do low prices have?

7. Distribute the chronology of oil prices included in this issue of *Arab World Almanac*. Using the information contained in this timeline, have students construct a graph illustrating price changes over time (put prices on the vertical axis and years on the horizontal axis). Ask students to identify peaks in oil prices. With what events do these peak prices coincide? Which have played a greater role in determining the price of oil—political crises or OPEC price decisions? Explain your answers.

8. Refer to the map on page 12. Discuss the distribution of oil within the Arab world. How are countries where there are relatively little or no petroleum resources affected by the region's oil industry? How have the major oil-exporting Arab countries used the revenues from oil sales? Discuss the possible effects of the depletion on reserves for both oil-rich and oil-poor Arab countries.

✚ The transparency "Oil in the Arabian Peninsula" accompanies this issue of *Arab World Almanac* courtesy of Aramco Services Company. It depicts the Arabian Peninsula and surrounding area, including major oil fields and pipelines. (Contested areas are depicted in a shade of yellow different from those used for Saudi Arabia and other countries.) While oil is found elsewhere in the Middle East, the largest amounts are concentrated in the area shown on this map. Project the transparency, and ask students to think about the following.

1. Discuss your observations regarding the distribution of oil fields in the region. Why might the location of particular fields be a source of conflict among neighboring countries?

2. Identify the different routes by which oil might be exported from the oil-producing countries shown on the map. How might circumstances in one country affect the transport of oil to, from, or through another country in the region? (Consider the waterways as well as the pipelines.)

3. Political analysts refer to the United States' "strategic" interests in this region. Discuss what these interests might be, and what makes them "strategic." In support of these "strategic" interests, what sort of relationship do you think the U.S. would want to have with the countries of the region? To what extent do you think this relationship exists? Discuss ways you think the U.S. might improve its relationships with Middle Eastern countries.

✚ The map on page 13 has been drawn such that the size of each region represents its relative share of the world's total known oil reserves. After students have examined the map, have them consider the following questions.

1. How is this map different from the world maps you are used to seeing? What information does it convey that a conventional map would not convey? Conversely, what information does a conventional map convey that is not contained in this map? Does anything about the map surprise you? If so, explain what it is and why.

2. Similar maps can help convey the relative share of world regions in oil production and consumption. Using graph paper and the statistics on page 13, have students draw similar maps for world oil production and world oil consumption. Regions do not have to be similar in shape to their real-world counterparts, but it is important to keep the relative positions of regions fairly consistent. Ask students to discuss the information con-

**The transparency "Oil in the Arabian Peninsula" accompanies this issue of *Arab World Almanac* courtesy of Aramco Services Company.**

veyed by their maps. Which countries or regions consume the most oil? Which the least? Compare the oil consumption map and the oil production map. Based on the relative size of the regions in each map, discuss which countries/regions are likely to be the largest oil importers and oil exporters.

3. Math enrichment exercise. Return to the statistics on page 13. Calculate the *percent* of world oil that each region consumes. Do the same for oil production. Calculate the *difference* between oil production and consumption for each world region. For the regions where consumption is greater than production, calculate the *percent* of oil consumed there that must be imported (assume that the entire difference must be accounted for by imports).

**Teachers are encouraged to photocopy any or all components of *Arab World Almanac* for use in the classroom.**

✚ Distribute the short article "The Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait" to students. Before they read it, ask them to explain the conflict as they understand it, including the major issues from the perspective of the U.S., Iraq, and other Arab countries. Then, ask them to read the article. Below are suggested discussion questions and additional activities.

1. How has your understanding of the conflict changed? Does it seem simpler or more complicated than you thought before reading the article?

2. Discuss the conflict from the point of view of Iraq, the Gulf countries, other Arab countries, and the United States. What factors go into the formation of each participant's perspective?

3. Ask students to collect political cartoons about the Gulf crisis. Distribute the political cartoons from the Arab press that accompany this issue of *Arab World Almanac*. Discuss the message conveyed by each cartoon. Explore both the similarities and differences in perspective and the depiction of characters between the Arab cartoons and the ones students have collected.

# Oil and the Arab World

Human civilization has benefited from oil throughout most of its history. Pitch was used by the ancient Egyptians to grease their chariots. Asphalt was used in Mesopotamia as building material and to caulk boats. Oil was used for lighting lamps in medieval Sicily and for medicinal purposes in America as well as Europe. The Industrial Revolution and the development of the internal combustion engine, however, paved the way for oil's present importance, especially after World War I and the expansion of the transportation industry.

After World War II, oil became the main source of energy for running factories and for transportation. This promoted the exponential growth in demand for oil—every ten years, the amount of oil used worldwide more than doubled. A significant portion of the world's oil reserves is located in the Middle East, and with the growth in Western demand for oil, Western interest in the Middle East increased dramatically.

Industrialized nations are dependent upon the uninterrupted, reasonably priced supply of oil from the Middle East to sustain their economies. Less well-known is the dependence of the Arab world on the production and export of this oil. Thousands of workers from labor-rich, oil-poor Arab countries work in the labor-poor, oil-rich countries of the Arabian Gulf, sending home salaries upon which their families and national economies depend.[1] The oil-exporting countries themselves are dependent on oil and oil sales to develop their own economies, finance imports of essential commodities such as food, and build their nations' industries. Their dependence on oil revenues is especially striking because of their lack of other significant natural resources.

This interdependence between oil-exporting and oil-importing countries brings international dimensions to seemingly local events or conflicts. For example, conflicts between Israel and its neighbors have, on several occasions, resulted in a worldwide oil crisis. Similarly, the oil-exporting countries depend on the stable economic growth of oil-importing nations in order to maintain predictable revenues. Inflation in oil-importing nations can hurt oil exporters if the cost of the goods they import rises faster than the price of oil.

## The Importance of Middle Eastern Oil

Middle Eastern oil assumes such global significance for a very simple reason: the Middle East, especially the handful of countries around the Arabian Gulf, is blessed with the world's largest deposits of oil. Only in comparison to the proven reserves of other regions can the size of Middle Eastern reserves truly be appreciated (see map on page 13). Abundant and easily accessible, these reserves are much less expensive to extract than oil in the United States or the North Sea.

Many people think of oil and the Middle East as being synonomous, but in fact, petroleum resources are not distributed evenly throughout the Middle East. Not all Middle Eastern nations are oil exporters or even oil producers. The biggest Middle Eastern exporters are Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates, each of which has well over 100 billion barrels of reserves. Egypt, Syria, and Tunisia can produce enough oil for their own needs, but they export relatively small volumes. Iran's large population and broad economic base requires it to use significant amounts of its production domestically, but revenues from oil exports remain its principal foreign-exchange earner. Some Middle Eastern nations, however, have virtually no oil at all. Neither Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, nor Morocco have found commercial-scale oil fields within their boundaries.

Ironically, those nations with the largest oil reserves also have among the smallest populations in the region. Significant oil production and exports can make a considerable contribution to a country's Gross National Product (GNP). Per capita GNP (total GNP divided by the population) is one of the basic indicators used to assess the relative economic well-being of a country. Oil-exporting countries with small populations have relatively high per capita GNPs, while countries with larger populations and little or no oil have much lower per capita

**Thomas R. Stauffer served as a consultant in the development of this essay. Dr. Stauffer is a journalist, a consultant on oil and gas economics and Middle Eastern geopolitics and economics, and a professorial lecturer at The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) of The Johns Hopkins University. Previously, he has held teaching positions at Harvard University, Georgetown University, and the Diplomatic Academy in Vienna, Austria.**

1. Salaries sent home by workers abroad are called *remittances*.

GNPs. Even among the oil-producing countries themselves, per capita GNP varies considerably; the populous Yemen has a per capita income of $640, while the tiny U.A.E., approximately one-half of whose inhabitants are expatriate workers, has a per capita income twenty times higher ($15,770).

## The Origins of the Middle Eastern Oil Industry

Since its beginnings in 1901, changes in the Middle Eastern oil industry have paralleled the general decolonization of the region and the trend towards self-determination in developing countries. The first oil companies in the Middle East were British, reflecting England's role as the major colonial power in the area. The British government helped promote the wholly British-owned Anglo-Persian Oil Company early in the 1900s, hoping to secure oil for its new navy. By 1914, England had sole control of Middle Eastern oil exports, all of which came out of Iran.[2]

The United States and France both resented exclusive British control of Middle Eastern oil production. After World War I, they began to pressure the British government to allow their own oil companies access to the oil fields through concessions similar to those accorded England.[3] With the blessings of the U.S. government, a consortium of American oil companies (called the Near East Development Corporation) was created to compete more effectively with England. A compromise reached in 1928 between England, France, and the United States allowed this consortium to buy almost one quarter of the British-owned Iraq Petroleum Company. Just two years later, the U.S.-owned Standard Oil Company of California was

2. Until 1935, Iran was known as Persia. Iran is not an Arab country.

3. Concessions were exclusive, long-term rights (sometimes for as long as 100 years) granted by regional governments to Western oil companies, allowing them to find and produce oil in very large areas often encompassing an entire country.

## Oil Cartels

A cartel is a group of producers or manufacturers whose members cooperate in order to raise the price of their product above the free-market level. As the cost of a product increases, so do the profits of each cartel member. In order for a cartel to succeed, certain conditions must be present. A successful cartel must include most producers of a particular commodity so that outside competition will be limited. There must also be no significant sources or new supplies outside the cartel which might increase competition. It is best if there are no substitutes for the commodity. The members of a cartel need to achieve political cohesion among themselves and be willing to abide by all agreements made by the cartel. Finally, for the cartel to be successful, there must be relatively constant demand for the commodity.

The earliest oil cartel—circa 1900—was really a monopoly owned by John D. Rockefeller. The American tycoon first concentrated the transportation, then the refining, and finally the production of oil in a single holding company which he owned. His cartel became so successful that the U.S. government dismantled it in one of the first antitrust actions in this country. Later, in 1928, the international oil companies tried to establish a limited cartel in the Middle East, but that attempt failed within a few years.

The most famous oil cartel is the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Initially, it was formed to limit the ability of Western oil companies to reduce or otherwise affect the price of oil without consulting the host governments. After the oil companies twice reduced the price of Middle Eastern oil in the late 1950s, a number of major oil-exporting governments decided to act. In 1960, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Venezuela agreed to the creation of OPEC. The organization was later expanded to include Algeria, Libya, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Ecuador, Gabon, Indonesia, and Nigeria.

The organization's task was difficult. The different political, cultural, and historical backgrounds of the member countries made it difficult to achieve the cooperation necessary to function successfully as a cartel. The oil-exporting countries with the largest reserves and the smallest populations, such as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, were interested in preserving their future markets for oil by keeping prices relatively low. They advocated only moderate price increases. Nations with more limited reserves and larger populations, such as Algeria and Iran, wanted to maximize their short-term profits through higher prices in order to finance the development of a sound industrial base before their oil runs out.

Although OPEC has received tremendous publicity, its achievements have in fact been modest. It did succeed in preventing further price decreases after 1960, but it never—through its own efforts—managed to raise oil prices. Most often, prices rose as a result of political activity which occurred outside the scope of the cartel and resulted in either real or perceived oil shortages.

granted a new concession for Bahrain. In 1933, the British-owned Anglo-Persian and the American-owned Gulf Oil Company shared the concession for Kuwait, and another American company, Aramco, was granted a concession covering most of Saudi Arabia.

The terms of the concessions required the Western oil companies to pay the host governments modest royalties, rarely amounting to more than 15 percent of the export value of the oil. Over time, the governments, as well as the general populations of the host countries, began to protest their lack of control over their nations' resources. In some cases, they proposed "participation agreements" under which the companies sold part interest to the governments. Elsewhere, nationalization was advocated. However, not until the mid-1970s were all Middle Eastern states able to assume control over the petroleum industries in the region. Since then, many Middle Eastern governments have branched out into processing their own crude in oil refineries designed for export to the United States, Europe, and the Far East.

## Oil Pricing

Great Britain and the United States intensified their search for oil in the Arabian Gulf region in the late 1920s through the 1940s, as other easily available sources of oil began to run out.[4] As the importance of oil to the West grew, governments in the oil-importing as well as oil-exporting nations began to take more active roles in directing supplies and prices. Realizing that oil would become quite expensive if the strong demand for it were allowed to determine the price, the governments of England, France, and the United States strongly influenced their companies' pricing policies in order to keep prices low. As World War II began, the Allies found themselves increasingly dependent upon petroleum resources from the Middle East, particularly for jet fuel. After World War II, the United States and England considered it a strategic necessity to have access to the greatest amount of petroleum reserves at the lowest possible price. These reserves were intended to promote the reconstruction of Europe and Japan and to preserve existing U.S. reserves. From 1950 and through the 1980s, much of the industrial expansion in Europe and Japan was fueled with Middle Eastern oil.

At the same time, the worldwide drive for self-determination in developing countries also motivated the governments of oil-exporting Middle Eastern countries to work towards greater control of the oil resources within their borders. Beginning in the 1950s, Middle Eastern governments began a series of attempts to renegotiate their relationships with the Western oil companies. In addition to increasing their

## GNP/Population in 1988

*Selected Arab States*

| Country | Pop. (millions) | Per Capita GNP ($) |
|---|---|---|
| Egypt | 50.2 | 660 |
| Algeria | 23.8 | 2,360 |
| Sudan | 23.8 | 480 |
| Syria | 11.6 | 1,680 |
| Saudi Arabia | 14.0 | 6,200 |
| Yemen Arab Republic | 8.5 | 640 |
| Tunisia | 7.8 | 1,230 |
| Somalia | 5.9 | 170 |
| Libya | 4.2 | 5,420 |
| Jordan | 3.9 | 1,500 |
| United Arab Emirates | 1.5 | 15,770 |
| Oman | 1.4 | 5,000 |

*Selected Non-Arab States*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| China | 1,088.4 | 330 |
| India | 815.6 | 340 |
| United States | 246.3 | 19,840 |
| Indonesia | 174.8 | 440 |
| Japan | 122.6 | 21,020 |
| Bangladesh | 108.9 | 170 |
| Mexico | 83.7 | 1,760 |
| West Germany | 61.3 | 18,480 |
| United Kingdom | 57.1 | 12,810 |
| France | 55.9 | 16,090 |
| Venezuela | 18.8 | 3,250 |
| Ecuador | 10.1 | 1,120 |
| Switzerland | 6.6 | 27,500 |
| Israel | 4.4 | 8,650 |
| Gabon | 1.1 | 2,970 |

4. The United States, Venezuela, and the Soviet Union led the world in oil production in the early 1900s. Between 1929 and 1939, however, the volume of world oil consumption increased nearly 50 percent, with the United States relying on oil for over 30 percent of its energy supplies. The United States recognized that it would become a net importer of oil by 1948 and needed to find large reserves in noncommunist nations.

control of the oil, the governments sought greater revenue as well. However, the first price increases did not occur until 1968 and, like most of the substantial price increases that would follow, resulted from a political crisis. As the following discussion illustrates, almost all major oil price increases resulted from political crises or wars and were not directly related to premeditated decisions by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

The first crisis resulted indirectly from the Arab-Israeli war of 1967. After the war, Israel closed off Egypt's Suez Canal, through which tankers carrying oil from the Arabian Peninsula passed on their way to Europe. European countries depended upon easily accessible oil, and with the Suez Canal closed, Libya had the nearest available supply. Libya's proximity to Europe allowed the new nationalist government there, commanded by Colonel Qaddhafi, to unilaterally raise the price of oil. Other oil-exporting countries followed suit, and by 1971, the price of oil had risen from $1.80 to $2.23 per barrel.

By early 1973, the governments represented in OPEC had agreed that the world oil market could sustain a price increase, but they were unable to persuade the Western oil companies to renegotiate the price to $3.65 per barrel; this was the price for which oil could be sold on the open market. Later in the year, as the October 1973 war between Egypt, Syria, and Israel began, OPEC unilaterally increased the posted price of oil to its market value while Arab OPEC members announced an oil embargo against nations supplying Israel with weapons. Although the non-Arab OPEC members, particularly Venezuela and Iran, made up some of the lost production, the amount of oil on the market was reduced by ten percent. U.S. access to Arab oil was especially restricted. The resulting panic by oil-importing countries caused prices to soar, and the actual market value quickly jumped as high as $20 per barrel, far exceeding the price that OPEC had established. By the end of 1973, OPEC met again, and taking advantage of the political crisis, decided to price oil at $11.58 per barrel.

Throughout most of the rest of the decade, Iran led efforts to link oil prices to the rising cost of imports into OPEC countries. These efforts were unsuccessful, largely because of Saudi Arabia's opposition to significantly higher prices. Between 1974 and the end of 1978, inflation had eroded the purchasing power of OPEC oil by 34.9 percent. This meant that in 1978, every barrel of OPEC oil bought its producers 34.9 percent *less* in imports from other countries than it had in 1974.

The Iranian revolution in 1978 and 1979 set the stage for the next major price increase. Initially, the disruptions in Iran reduced Middle Eastern oil production by nearly twenty percent. World panic caused the price of oil to rise from $12.70 per barrel to $29.52 per barrel. Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Kuwait attempted to increase output to offset the temporary loss of Iranian oil, but this had little effect on the market price. Although OPEC—under Saudi influence—kept the official price at $14.55 per barrel, market forces prevailed, and OPEC nations attached surcharges to bring the selling price up to the market price.

At first, higher oil prices meant greater profits for all oil-exporting countries, but they also reduced importers' demand for oil. Higher prices caused oil-importing countries to substitute oil and gas with new sources of energy which now became more economical. Conservation efforts further reduced demand for Middle Eastern oil.

OPEC reacted in 1983 by setting production quotas for each member state in an attempt to reduce the glut of oil on the world market. However, OPEC members found it difficult to accurately predict demand for oil and often set quotas too high. More seriously, many nations ignored their quota limits in efforts to maximize profits. For example, both Iraq and Iran exceeded their production quotas in order to generate the higher revenues they needed to finance their war efforts.

By 1985, OPEC countries were feeling the impact of significantly lower demand for their petroleum exports. Saudi Arabia then decided independently on a more drastic strategy to retrieve lost markets. It increased its output of oil, forcing prices to plummet. The resulting free-for-all price war dropped the price of oil to as low as $10 per barrel. The low-price strategy worked. Within five years, the price had rebounded to $16-$18 per barrel and OPEC had regained half of its lost markets. By 1990, the United States was once again importing about fifty percent of its oil from the Middle East, up from only about eleven percent between 1979 and 1985.

The fifth political crisis came in August 1990. In response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait (see page 14), the United States led a blockade against both Iraq and Kuwait, cutting off their oil-exporting capabilities. Once again, about twenty percent of Middle Eastern output was suddenly unavailable. Within weeks, oil prices rose sixty to one hundred percent—to over $35 per barrel—despite Saudi attempts to increase production.

## Oil and Development

Both oil exporters and importers share a common interest in a stable and predictable market. A stable oil supply is vital for the health of consumer economies. It is equally important for the producers because it enables them to plan their development over an extended period.

In the past few decades, thanks to oil, the pace of development has been rapid throughout the Arab world. In factories, automated systems operate many aspects of production. Agricultural mechanization has been introduced in many places; combines harvest grain once reaped by hand, while pumps and pipelines water crops previously tended by manual labor. Modern hospitals apply the latest in medical technology—including organ transplants—to the treatment of their patients. Roads link once-isolated villages, and dietary standards have risen beyond subsistence levels.

Educational opportunities for all people in the region are steadily increasing. Less than fifty years ago, only an elite few received traditional Islamic education or Western secular education in European missionary schools. Today, free or highly subsidized public education is available to almost everyone in an ever-growing number of primary and secondary schools, technical institutes, and colleges and universities.

In the major oil-exporting countries, these rapid developments have been made possible by revenues from the sale of oil, but others have also benefited. Aid from oil-producing countries has helped finance many development projects in the non-oil-producing Arab countries. The latter, as well as many Asian countries, have shared in the "petro-prosperity" as well. Similar to the opening of the United States in the late nineteenth century to immigrants who were needed to man the new factories and build new railroads, job opportunities in the Gulf region have tied many developing nations to the Middle Eastern oil-producing states. Palestinians, Yemenis, Egyptians, and Lebanese have moved to the Gulf states to teach in schools and universities, to run banks, and to work in factories and refineries. Bangladeshis, Pakistanis, Indians, Filipinos, and Koreans, among others, help run the service industries necessary to the functioning of modern states. For many labor-exporting countries, the remittances that these expatriate workers send home to their families constitute a significant portion of GNP and help pay for their oil imports.[5]

Unfortunately for oil producers, oil is a non-renewable resource. OPEC nations have kept this in mind as they attempt to build a sound economic base for the future when oil runs out. Governments have invested billions in overseas funds and industries. Modern plants for the production of steel, fertilizers, aluminum, and petrochemicals have been built in hopes of diversifying the economy. Research and development in the agricultural sector have also been given emphasis. Exploiting its own gas and oil, the Middle East has become an important site for much of the world's new heavy industry. With such actions, these governments hope to maintain the prosperity of the last twenty years well past the day when the oil wells run dry.

**5. In Egypt, remittances account for the greatest source of foreign exchange, amounting to almost 9.47 percent of the GNP in 1988. In Jordan, the more than $1 billion in remittances from Palestinians and Jordanians working in the Arabian Gulf accounted for 17.79 percent of GNP. For labor-rich, oil-poor countries such as these, remittances have become a cornerstone of the economy.**

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# Petrochemical Products

One quarter of worldwide oil consumption takes place in the United States. When we think of oil consumption, we usually think of fuel. However, oil has many other uses. It is a necessary component in the production of more than 3,000 different products. Here are just some of them.

Ink
Heart valves
Crayons
Parachutes
Telephones
Enamel
Transparent tape
Antiseptics
Vacuum bottles
Purses
Deodorant
Pantyhose
Rubbing alcohol
Shag rugs
Epoxy paint
Oil filters
Pajamas
Upholstery
Hearing aids
Car sound insulation
Dresses
Cassettes
Motorcycle helmets
Pillows
Clotheslines
Shower doors
Soap dishes
Shoes
Tobacco pouches
Refrigerator linings
Electrical tape
Model cars
Folding doors
Floor wax
Sweaters
Sports car bodies
Tires

Dishwashing liquids
Unbreakable dishes
Toothbrushes
Combs
Toothpaste
Tents
Hair curlers
Lipstick
Ice cube trays
Electric blankets
Tennis rackets
Drinking cups
House paint
Rollerskate wheels
Guitar strings
Ammonia
Eyeglasses
Ice chests
Life jackets
TV cabinets
Car battery cases
Insect repellent
Ice buckets
Fertilizers
Hair coloring
Toilet seats
Denture adhesive
Loudspeakers
Movie film
Fishing boots
Candles
Water pipes
Car enamel
Shower curtains
Credit cards
Aspirin
Permanent-press clothes

Golf balls
Detergents
Sunglasses
Glue
Fishing rods
Linoleum
Plastic wood
Soft contact lenses
Dice
Trash bags
Hand lotion
Shampoo
Shaving cream
Safety glass
Awnings
Salad bowls
Plywood adhesive
Cameras
Anesthetics
Artificial turf
Artificial limbs
Bandages
Dentures
Mops
Beach umbrellas
Ballpoint pens
Boats
Nail polish
Golf bags
Tool boxes
Caulking
Tape recorders
Curtains
Vitamin capsules
Dashboards
Putty
Percolators

Skis
Tool racks
Slacks
Yarn
Insecticides
Fishing lures
Perfumes
Shoe polish
Petroleum jelly
Faucet washers
Food preservatives
Antihistamines
Cortisone
Dyes
LP records
Vaporizers
Solvents
Cigarette filters
Roofing
Cold cream
Synthetic rubber
Glycerin
Rubber cement
Nylon rope
Fan belts
Umbrellas
Paint rollers
Luggage
Antifreeze
Refrigerants
Typewriter ribbons
Paint brushes
Balloons

*This list was compiled by the American Petroleum Institute and is reprinted here with permission.*

# Chronology of Oil Prices

| *Year* | *Price $/barrel* Arabian Light* |
|---|---|
| 1960-1970 | 1.80 |
| 1971 | 2.23 |
| 1972 | 2.48 |
| 1973 | 3.29 |
| 1974 | 11.58 |
| 1975 | 11.53 |
| 1976 | 11.63 |
| 1977 | 12.38 |
| 1978 | 13.03 |
| 1979 | 29.75 |
| 1980 | 35.69 |
| 1981 | 34.32 |
| 1982 | 31.80 |
| 1983 | 28.78 |
| 1984 | 28.07 |
| 1985 | 27.53 |
| 1986 | 12.97 |
| 1987 | 16.92 |
| 1988 | 13.22 |
| 1989 | 15.69 |
| 1990 | 35.00 and up |

***Prices quoted reflect representative figures for each year based on first quarter posted prices.**

**Source for prices from 1960-1975: *Oil Economist Handbook*. Gilbert, Jenkins: London, 1986.**

**Source for prices from 1976-1989: *British Petroleum Statistical Review of World Energy*, June 1990.**

**September 1960:** OPEC is created. Discusses possible strategies for increasing revenue throughout the decade.

**June 1967:** Arab-Israeli war. Israel closes off the Suez Canal.

**September 1969:** Libyan monarch overthrown by a group of army officers.

**May 1970:** Libyan government cuts back oil production.

**December 1970:** OPEC demands that oil companies increase the price of oil.

**January 1972:** OPEC member states and oil companies begin negotiations on the joint ownership of the companies and raising the price of oil to compensate for the depreciation of the U.S. dollar.

**October 1973:** Arab-Israeli war begins; Arab states announce an oil embargo against nations supplying Israel with weapons, including the United States.

**March 1974:** Arab oil-exporting states end the oil embargo.

**December 1976:** OPEC consensus on pricing breaks down.

**September 1978:** Iranian oil workers begin disrupting oil production as part of a nationwide movement to overthrow the Shah.

**December 1978:** Iranian oil exports stop completely.

**February 1979:** Iranian revolution overthrows the Shah's government.

**March 1979:** The new Iranian government resumes oil production.

**September 1980:** Iraq invades Iran. Oil exports from both countries, amounting to 4 million barrels per day, are temporarily halted.

**October 1980:** Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, and the U.A.E. increase their total production by 1 million barrels per day.

**January 1981:** Iran increases production as a result of the lifting of trade sanctions after the American hostages are released.

**March 1982:** Non-OPEC oil producers lower the price of oil, undercutting OPEC's price by $1.60.

**December 1985:** OPEC decides to pursue a "fair share" strategy in which each member produces as much oil as it can and sells it for whatever price it can obtain.

**March 1986:** The price for oil collapses as OPEC nations openly compete with North Sea oil producers.

**April 1986:** The United States begins attempts to convince Saudi Arabia to decrease output in order to help increase prices as the price per barrel drops below $10.

**December 1986:** OPEC agrees to begin cutting back production according to a quota schedule.

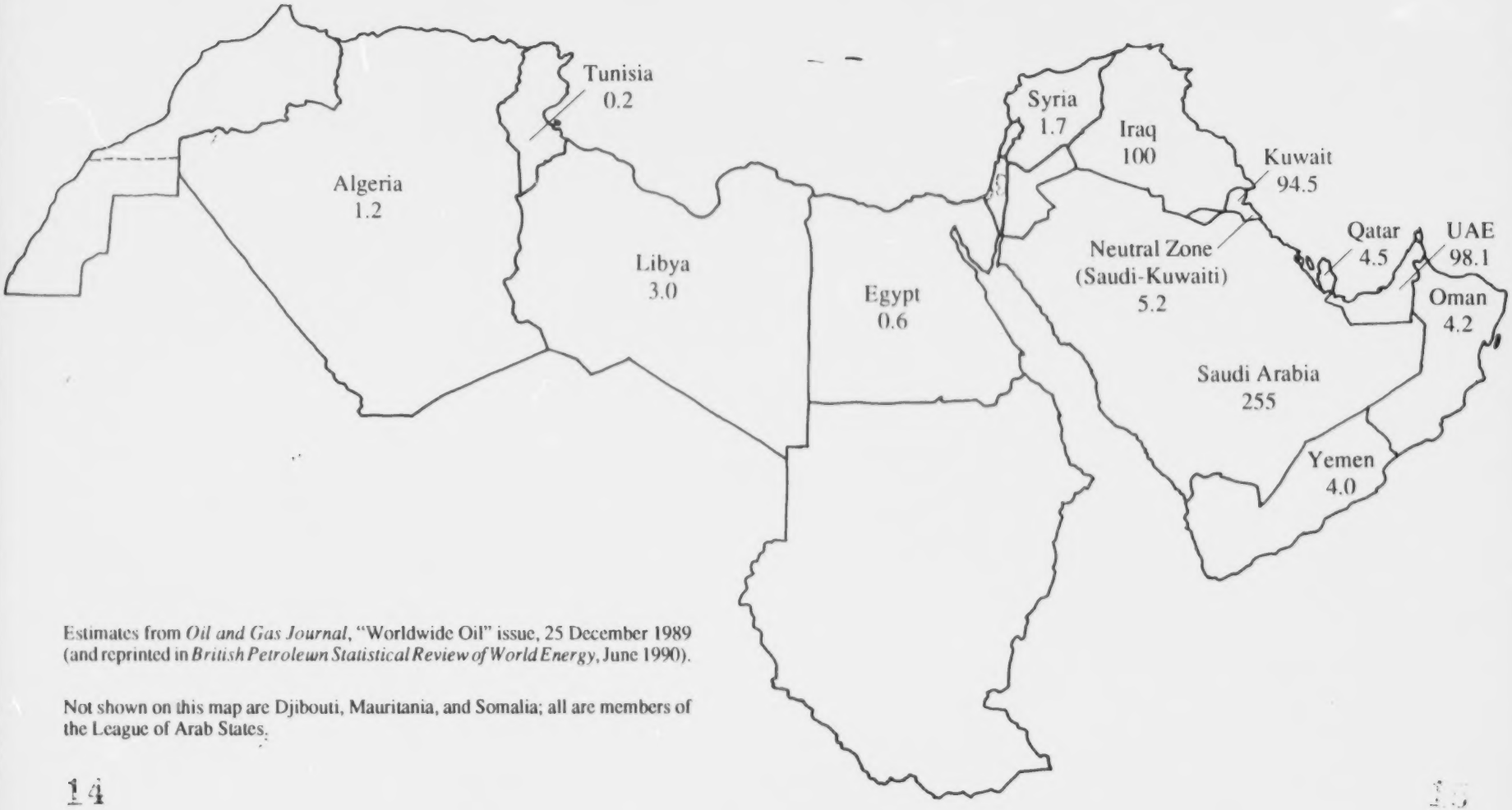
**August 1990:** Iraq invades Kuwait, prompting deployment of significant U.S. forces to Saudi Arabia. The United Nations places an embargo on Iraq and occupied Kuwait, halting almost all their oil exports as Saudi Arabia significantly increases its output.



13

# Proven Oil Reserves of the Arab World, 1989

**(thousand million barrels)**

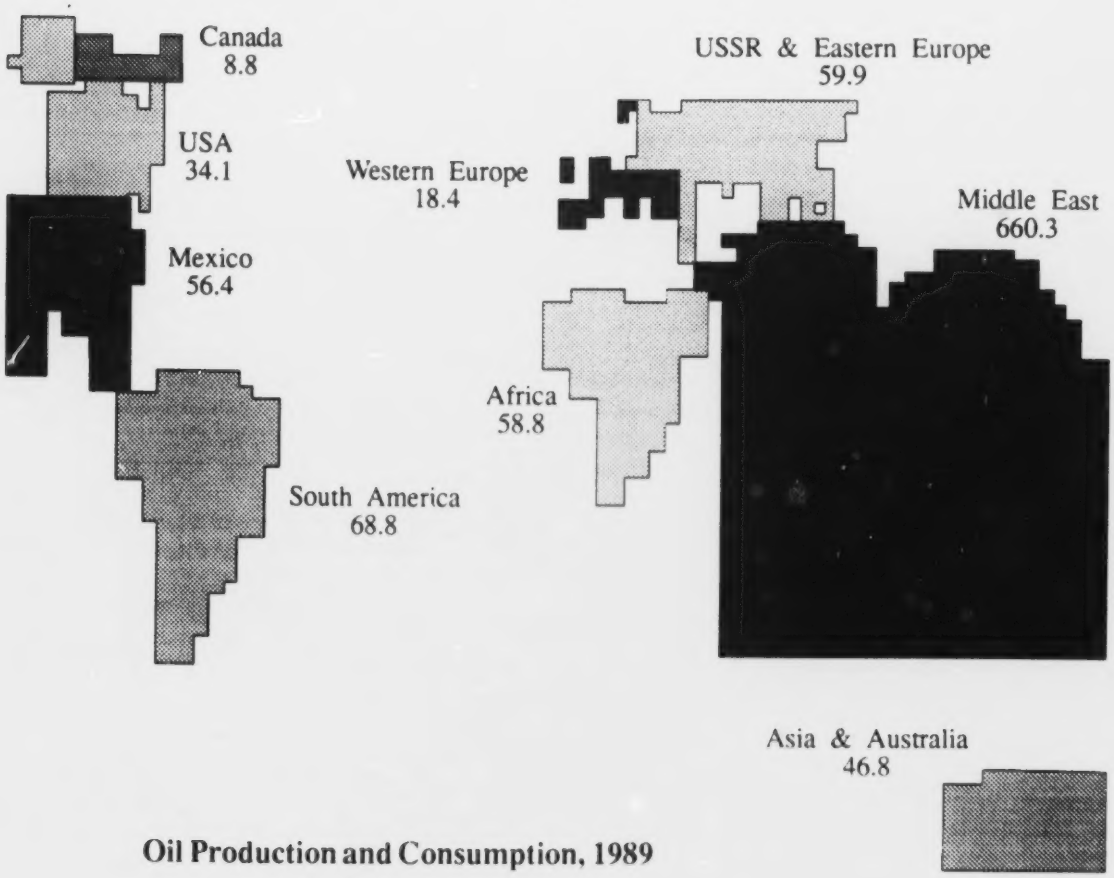



Estimates from *Oil and Gas Journal*, "Worldwide Oil" issue, 25 December 1989 (and reprinted in *British Petroleum Statistical Review of World Energy*, June 1990).

Not shown on this map are Djibouti, Mauritania, and Somalia; all are members of the League of Arab States.

# The World's Oil Reserves

## Regions Drawn in Proportion to their Future Supplies
## (thousand million barrels)




### Oil Production and Consumption, 1989

(thousands of barrels)

| | *Production* | *Consumption* |
|---|---|---|
| USA | 9,175 | 16,585 |
| Canada | 1,725 | 1,660 |
| Latin America | 6,990 | 5,265 |
| Western Europe | 3,970 | 12,510 |
| USSR & Eastern Europe | 12,885 | 10,995 |
| Middle East | 16,590 | 2,920 |
| Africa | 5,945 | 1,830 |
| Asia, Australia, New Zealand | 6,280 | 12,960 |

(Source: *BP Statistical Review of World Energy*, June 1990)

# The Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait

Under the leadership of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein, Iraq's armed forces invaded Kuwait on August 2, 1990, occupying much of the country in a matter of hours. Most of the Kuwaiti government fled the country to Saudi Arabia, while thousands of Kuwaiti citizens on vacation around the world found themselves stranded. Within five days, the Saudi government agreed to invite American troops into Saudi Arabia to protect the kingdom against a feared Iraqi invasion and to help protect the oil fields there.

Despite billions of dollars in Kuwaiti financial aid to Iraq during its war with Iran, hostility between the two Gulf states had been evident in the months leading up to the invasion. Iraqis believed that their recovery from eight years of war with Iran as well as their economic development had become constrained by the decrease in revenues associated with falling oil prices. They charged that overproduction by Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates was responsible for keeping the price of oil too low. The Iraqi government expressed concern over an oil field owned jointly by both countries, accusing Kuwait of drawing oil from the Iraqi side of the field, and Iraq's long-standing territorial claims against Kuwait were resurrected.

Tensions remained high in spite of an agreement reached at an OPEC meeting on July 27 to raise the price of oil to $21 per barrel. Iraq alleged that Kuwait was participating in a conspiracy with the United States to hinder Iraq's development through lower world oil prices. At the same time, Iraq massed 30,000 troops along its border with Kuwait. The United States reacted by placing its naval forces in the Arabian Gulf on alert. The next day, on July 24, U.S. naval forces conducted joint military exercises with the U.A.E. in a show of support for Kuwait and the Emirates.

In the meantime, Iraq and Kuwait entered into bilateral negotiations, which Iraq broke off on the first of August. Less than a day later, Iraq invaded Kuwait after confusing but widely broadcast signals from U.S. government officials, which seemed to indicate that the United States would tolerate an Iraqi show of force.[1] On August 8, surprised by the quick U.S. response in defense of Kuwait, Iraq abandoned its support for a provisional government in the sheikhdom and officially annexed Kuwait.

Iraq justified the annexation with a territorial claim based on the status of Kuwait during the Ottoman rule of the region.[2] At that time, Kuwait was a part of the Basra province, located in the south of modern-day Iraq. In 1899, Kuwait became a *de facto* protectorate of Britain when the local leader signed an agreement with England guaranteeing that no other nation would have access to his territory; in exchange, he received a stipend and military protection. Britain granted Kuwait independence in 1961 but was forced to return its forces later that year when the Iraqi government reasserted its claim to Kuwait. Eventually, Arab League forces replaced the British as protectors of Kuwait's sovereignty. Iraqi claims to Kuwait remained largely dormant until a 1983 border disturbance between the two countries. A subsequent 1984 border agreement between Iraq and Kuwait lasted until Iraq's 1990 invasion.[3]

The United States' strong response to Iraq's occupation of Kuwait was officially motivated by the principled opposition to aggression, but few doubted that another major impetus for the sending of troops to confront Iraq was concern over oil. Iraq already has the second largest oil reserves in the world after Saudi Arabia, and with the takeover of Kuwait, it now controls some 20 percent of the world's petroleum reserves. If Iraq also occupied Saudi Arabia, it would control 45 percent. Such control would not only give Iraq enormous influence on pricing trends, but it would also pose potentially serious long-term economic problems for countries dependent on Middle Eastern oil.

Although no Arab country expressed official support for Iraq's invasion, almost half the members of the Arab League refrained from outright condemnation, hoping to leave open the door for negotiation. Jordan, the Palestine

1. For example, on July 25, the U.S. ambassador to Iraq apparently told Saddam Hussein that the United States had "no opinion on the Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait. . . . The issue is not associated with America." This statement was not denied by the U.S. Department of State.

2. Ironically, the same justification that Iraq used for its annexation of Kuwait could be used to justify the taking of Iraqi territory. When the British drew Iraq's boundaries, they included areas then considered part of Turkey, despite the protestations of Turkish leaders. The areas in question contain Iraq's largest oil fields, increasing their value to Iraq and potential value to Turkey.

3. After its 1980 invasion of Iran, Iraq required access to the Arabian Gulf for its naval bases. Unable to secure Iranian territory for this purpose, Iraq began pressuring Kuwait for access to the Kuwaiti islands of Warba and Bubiyan. Fearing Iranian retaliation, Kuwait refused to play such an overt part in the war. Kuwaiti leaders also feared Iraq's long-term intentions, particularly after Iraqi troops crossed the border in 1983. By November 1984, the two governments had put together an agreement by which Iraq would respect Kuwait's borders.

Liberation Organization, Yemen, Sudan, Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, and Tunisia all either abstained or refused to vote on an Arab League proposal to send Arab troops to Saudi Arabia. Most other world nations viewed the invasion entirely in terms of Iraqi aggression against small Kuwait, but these Arab League members saw the issues as less clear-cut and adopted a neutral position in favor of a political settlement to the crisis.

As the scope of the U.S. military presence in Saudi Arabia increased, however, many Arabs feared that the superpower was preparing to attack Iraq. At this point, the crisis began to assume new dimensions. Some Arabs interpreted U.S. actions as the latest manifestation of historic Western attempts to manipulate the governments and resources of the Arab world for Western benefit without regard to the interests of the region. The French and British colonization of the Arab world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and their economic and political exploitation of local populations created a growing animosity in most countries, promoting the rise of many nationalist movements. The European resistance to Arab nationalism inspired a deep-seated distrust of Western motives in general which continues to this day.

This distrust has become evident in the reaction of some Arabs to the stated U.S. goals of protecting the sovereignty of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Citing the perceived unconditional U.S. support for Israel as well as the failure of the United States to protect the sovereignty of other Arab countries against aggressors in the past, these Arabs consider U.S. claims to be insincere and hypocritical. For them, the crisis which began as an inter-Arab conflict in which Kuwait was mostly in the right is now perceived as a confrontation between Iraq and the United States. Many of Saddam Hussein's public statements have been aimed at intensifying such Arab nationalist sentiments in the region. Some Arabs who were otherwise opposed to the policies of the Iraqi government now feel compelled to side with Iraq—an Arab country—against the United States. Many fear that the U.S. is taking advantage of the crisis to establish a permanent military presence in the region.

Meanwhile, Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf states (the U.A.E., Qatar, Oman, and Bahrain) remained fearful of Iraqi intentions. Unlike their neighbors to the west, these countries never developed significant nationalist movements against the former European presence in the region. Today, they view Western involvement in the gulf with less suspicion than they do Iraqi aspirations. These governments urged Egypt, Syria, and Morocco to contribute troops to the American and European military forces already deployed in Saudi Arabia, promising in return substantial economic and political assistance in the future. Although the governments of these countries are supporting the U.S. position, public opinion is divided and many people sympathize with Iraq.

Oil prices have also been affected by events in the Gulf. To further pressure Iraq, the United States led international efforts to impose a comprehensive embargo on Iraq and Kuwait. This included the blocking of oil exports from both countries. As a result, prices for crude quickly rose between 60 and 100 percent—well over the posted OPEC price of $21 per barrel.

In the United States, the impact of higher oil prices has been felt at the gas pumps with rising gas prices, in the supermarkets as the price of transporting goods increases, and increasingly in the home as home heating oil prices continue to rise. The economies of many Arab countries, meanwhile, have already been devastated by the invasion and the trade embargo. Unemployment in Jordan is expected to reach 35 percent as workers return from their jobs in Kuwait and neighboring Gulf countries. Before the embargo, Jordan's major trading partner was Iraq, and many of the goods unloaded at Jordan's busy port of Aqaba were bound for Iraq. As a result of the invasion and its consequences, Jordan is expecting to lose $4.5 billion a year—well over half its GNP. Similarly, Egypt is expecting a loss in revenue of up to $5 billion a year (nearly 14 percent of its GNP) as a result of reduced tanker traffic through the Suez Canal, the severing of trade with Iraq, and the ending of remittances from workers who had been in Iraq and Kuwait. For the Arab states as well as the United States, tabulating the costs of the crisis in the Gulf is just beginning.

# Suggested Background Resources

Goralski, Robert and Russell W. Freeburg. *Oil & War: How the Deadly Struggle for Fuel in WWII Meant Victory or Defeat*. New York: Morrow, 1987. (384 pages, $19.95) Grade 10 and above

A detailed and carefully documented analysis of the crucial importance of oil to the major actors in World War II. The author draws from official U.S., German, and Japanese sources, wartime memoranda, and the personal writings of men who were involved in supplying oil for the various armies. An entire chapter is devoted to the Middle East.

*Middle East Economic Handbook*. London: Euromonitor, 1986. (487 pages, $80)

Contains statistical tables, charts, and maps on the economies of sixteen Middle Eastern and North African nations. Provides an economic overview of the region, its role in the world economy, and its prospects for the future. Includes lengthy country profiles.

Peterson, J.E., ed. *The Politics of Middle Eastern Oil*. Washington. DC: Middle East Institute, 1983. (530 pages, $14.95)

A series of essays on the significance of Middle Eastern oil, divided into three sections. The first section is on oil, the Middle East, and the international economy. The second describes the Middle Eastern oil producers and the extent of their development. The third discusses the relationship between oil-producing states and international politics. Includes basic data on Middle Eastern oil-producing states, maps, and a bibliography.

Richards, Alan and John Waterbury. *A Political Economy of the Middle East: State, Class, and Economic Development*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1990. (495 pages, $19.95 for paperback, $45.00 for hardcover)

A comprehensive analysis of the transformation of Middle Eastern nations' economies over the past several decades. Stresses the relationship between politics and development strategies. Includes analyses of the effects of war, the oil boom, and labor migration on national development in the region.

Sampson, Anthony. *The Seven Sisters: The Great Oil Companies and the World They Shaped*. New York: Bantam, 1976. (334 pages) Grade 9 and above

An examination of oil's effect on the world economy. Discusses the initial domination of the oil industry by seven companies, their relationships with Western governments, and the process by which control of oil came to be shared with the producing countries. Extremely readable. (Out of print, but may be available in school or public libraries.)

*Story of Oil: Chief Economic Resource Of the Middle East*. 25 minutes, color, 16mm and videocassette. TV Ontario/Mideast, 1985.

An audiovisual survey of the role of oil in the Middle East, from Noah caulking the ark to the present.

Walstad, William and Joyce Gleason. *Energy and Economics*. Salt Lake City: National Energy Foundation, 1988. (193 pages, $10) Grade 9 and above

Designed especially for use in the classroom, the reproducible pages of this handbook include a supplementary materials guide and twenty lesson activities exploring energy issues and basic economic concepts such as scarcity, opportunity cost, and market supply and demand. The handbook may be obtained directly from the National Energy Foundation, 5160 Wiley Post Way, Suite 200, Salt Lake City, Utah 84116 (801/539-1406).

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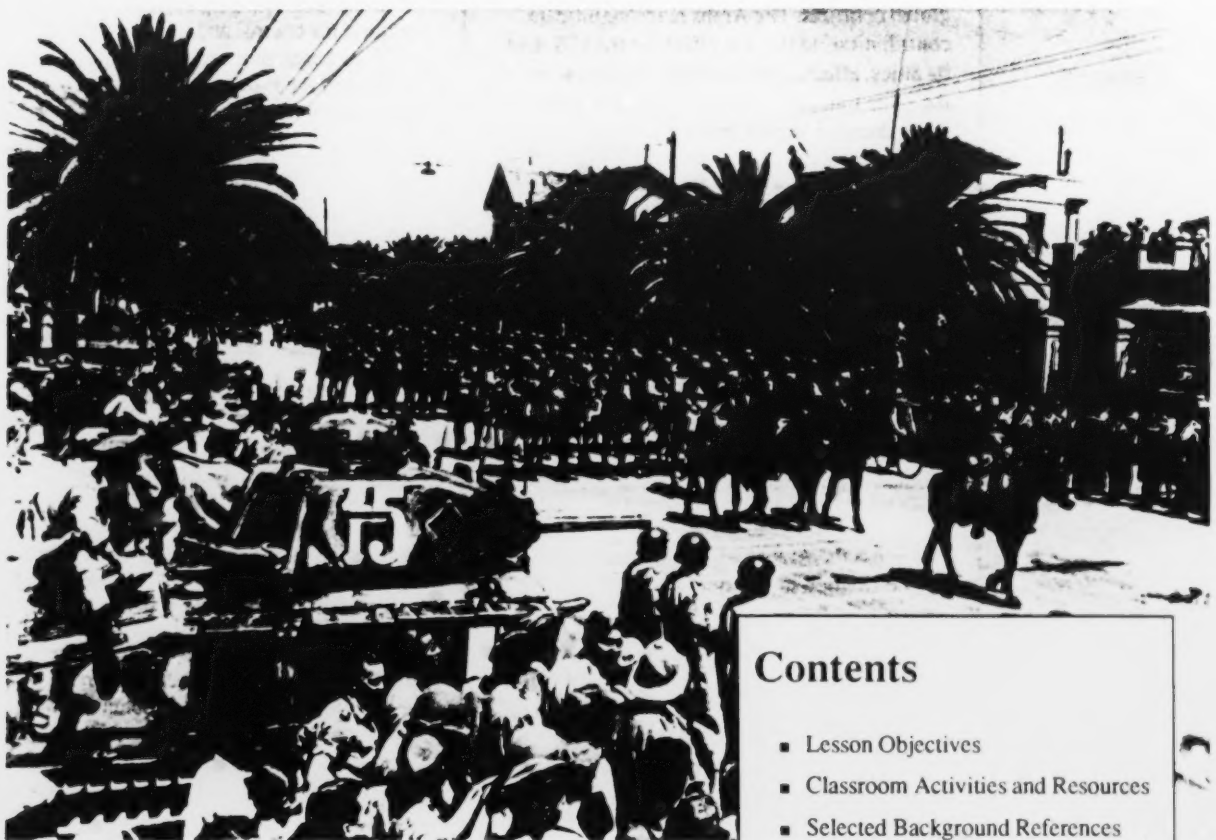

# The Arab World in the World Wars

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# Lesson Plan
# The Arab World in the World Wars

**Lisa Bell served as a consultant in the development of the lesson plan for this issue of *Arab World Almanac*. Ms. Bell teaches world geography at Williamsburg Middle School in Arlington, Virginia.**

An understanding of the present-day political map of North Africa and the Middle East requires an examination of the Arab involvement in World War I and World War II. The imperialist race for territory in this region during the nineteenth century meant that the Arabs would inevitably become involved in these global conflicts. The Arabs made significant contributions to the war efforts of the U.S. and its allies, affecting the outcome of both wars. At the same time, the wars and their aftermaths had a decisive impact on the growth of nationalist sentiments in the Arab world and on struggles for independence.

## Lesson Objectives

After completing this lesson, students should be able to:

- Explain how European imperialism led to an Arab role in the world wars
- Describe the ways in which the Arabs contributed to the Allied war efforts in World War I and World War II
- Discuss the Arabs' wartime experience and its contribution to growing nationalism in the region
- Explain how the wars affected political development in the Arab world
- Identify on a map of the Middle East/North Africa the areas where military activity occurred in each world war, and where the transfer of political control occurred as a direct consequence of the wars
- Discuss the role of perspective in historical accounts

## Classroom Activities and Resources

✤ Distribute copies of "The World at War: The Arab Role in the World Wars" (or, incorporate the information contained in the essay into your own lecture). Some terms with which students may not be familiar have been printed in red. You may wish to ask students to define these terms using contextual clues. If so, underline the highlighted terms before photocopying the essay. The following discussion questions focus on the essay's main themes and further the lesson objectives outlined above.

1. In the nineteenth century, European competition for control and influence in the Middle East began in earnest. What factors motivated the Europeans? Explain why their actions might be characterized as "imperialist."

2. Discuss the relationship between European interests in the Arab world and Arab participation in the world wars. Do you think the Arabs would have become involved in either war even if the European powers had not had any aspirations in the region? Explain your answer.

3. Discuss the ways in which the Arabs contributed to the war effort in World War I and World War II. In what ways were the Arabs *physically* affected by the world wars? In what ways were they *psychologically* affected? Explain how these factors contributed to the Arabs' expectations that they deserved and would receive independence.

4. Throughout the Arab world, nationalist resistance groups actively opposed the colonialist presence in their countries. Nonetheless, France and Britain obtained support and assistance from the Arabs during both world wars. Discuss some of the factors that might have made this possible. How might the course of the wars have differed if the nationalist resistance had been more powerful?

5. After the First World War, nationalist sentiments in the Arab world increased steadily, intensifying yet further during and after World War II. These sentiments, directed against European colonialist powers, were much stronger than those that may have been expressed against the Ottoman Empire before World War I. Explain how the wars and the Arab experience in them might have contributed to growing nationalism. To what

extent do you think nationalism would have increased anyway, and for what reasons?

✚ On pages 10, 11, and 12 are maps of the Ottoman Empire at its greatest extent (map A), the Middle East before World War I (map B), and the Middle East between the world wars (map C). Maps B and C indicate present-day political boundaries for reference, although these boundaries were not necessarily defined during the periods depicted. You might want to have students identify and label each present-day nation-state before proceeding with this exercise.

After students have had a chance to examine the maps, have them consider the following questions.

1. Compare maps A and B. By the eve of World War I, how much territory in the Middle East/North Africa had the Ottoman Empire lost? How much of this was controlled by European powers? Locate this area on a world map or a globe. Discuss why European powers considered control of this part of the world to be so important.

2. Compare maps B and C. Identify the areas where a change in political control occurred. Explain how the war and its aftermath contributed to this shift in control.

3. On map B, trace the course of the Arab Revolt (as described in the essay). Who controlled the territory that the Arabs were attempting to liberate? What happened to this territory after the war?

4. On map C, identify where major military activity took place during World War II. Why do you think military activity did not take place here in World War I?

✚ On pages 13 and 14 are excerpts from an eleventh-grade Tunisian history textbook. These passages address World War I and World War II, respectively. Distribute copies of these pages to students, and have them consider the following questions.

1. Compare these sections from a Tunisian history text with the passages about the world wars in your history textbook. Would you characterize the differences between them as complementary or contradictory? Explain your reasoning.

2. What impression would you have of the Arab role in the world wars if you relied only on your history book? Does your text provide a complete account of what occurred? Similarly, describe to what extent the Tunisian textbook's account of the world wars is complete.

3. Do you consider the passages from the Tunisian text to be based on fact or opinion? How about the passages in your own history book? Explain how the facts an author chooses to cite might convey a particular point of view.

✚ On pages 15 and 16 are four primary resources dealing with the two world wars. After considering each document on its own (including its historical context), have students discuss the value of resources such as these and how historians might use them.

**Resource A.** Folksongs have often been good indicators of public discontent. Can you think of some reasons why this is so? What were the people of Egypt lamenting in the folksong reproduced here? Think of some examples of folksongs expressing public discontent that date from various periods in American history.

**Resource B.** What do you learn from these memoirs about Arab sentiments towards the British and towards the Turks? What limitations might such first-hand accounts have as indicators of public opinion? From what you have learned about the Arab world in the world wars, who ended up predicting the future most accurately: the author or the "old people" such as Professor Dumit?

**Resource C.** Why would the British have published this document? What did they hope to achieve by dropping it over Syria? In the leaflet, what do the British state as their goals in fighting the Ottoman Empire? From what you already know, were these in fact the British goals in the war? How do you think the Syrian Arabs would have reacted upon receiving this leaflet?

**Resource D.** Under what circumstances was this letter written? Why did Bourguiba address his appeal to President Roosevelt? What does this tell you about the Tunisians' perceptions of the United States? Of France? Of their own role in the war and their expectations? (It may interest students to know that upon receipt of the letter, the office of the secretary of state sent the following reply to the American consul general in Tunisia: "A copy of your despatch no. 10 of June 7, 1943, transmitting a letter addressed to President Roosevelt by Habib Bourguiba, leader

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of the Neo-Destourian Party, was sent to the White House, together with a translation of the communication. Provided you perceive no objection, you may acknowledge the letter and state [to Bourguiba] that it was read with interest.")

**AMIDEAST gratefully acknowledges support from the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company of New York, which made possible the inclusion of archival photographs as supplementary instructional resources for this issue of *Arab World Almanac*.**

✤ Included with this issue of *Arab World Almanac* are two photographs reproduced from negatives on file with the Library of Congress. AMIDEAST gratefully acknowledges support from the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company of New York, which made possible the reproduction of these photographs. One, taken sometime during World War I, depicts (from left to right) Col. T.E. Lawrence, Emir Abdullah, Air Marshall F.N. Salmond, and Sir Wyndham Deedes. The other, taken on May 20, 1943, shows native North African troops of the French Colonial Army passing a French tank during an Allied victory parade in Tunis, Tunisia. Circulate the photographs among students, and then discuss the following questions.

**1.** In the World War I photograph, what appears to be the relationship among the four men? Among other things, consider their attire and their relative position to each other. What does your answer to this question imply about the broader relationship among the Arabs and the British in World War I? Does this correspond with or contradict what you already know about the history of the period?

**Teachers are encouraged to photocopy any or all components of *Arab World Almanac* for classroom use.**

**2.** Consider the photograph of the Allied victory parade during World War II. What is the significance of the native North African troops' participation in the parade? What elements in the scene illustrate the French colonial presence in Tunisia? From the photograph alone, what might you infer about the role of North Africans in World War II and about the relationship between them and the French?

**3.** Discuss the nature of photographs as historical documents. To what extent do you think they accurately portray events and people? In what ways might they convey less than historical narratives? More than historical narratives? Can they be misleading or portray only part of the story? Explain your answers.

## Selected Background References

Antonius, George. *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement*. Troy, MI: International Book Center, 1969. ($22.00)

A solid basic reference regarding the rise and spread of nationalism in the Arab world, including World War I and its aftermath. Still considered a classic text on the subject.

Bonsal, Stephen. *Suitors and Suppliants: The Little Nations at Versailles*. New York: Associated Faculty Press, 1969 (reprint of 1946 ed.) (301 pp., $24.95) Bonsal served as the interpreter for President Wilson at the Paris Peace Conference. His fascinating diary, published here, was used by the president as a reminder of what had occurred from one session to another. It documents the claims—and their arbitration—of the smaller parties.

Carver, Michael. *Al Alamein*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962. (216 pp., out of print)

A detailed account of the events leading up to and including the decisive battle at Al Alamein, presented from a Western perspective. Still in print is another book by Carver, *Dilemma of the Desert War: A New Look at the Libyan Campaign, 1940-42*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987. ($22.00)

Goralski, Robert and Russell W. Freeburg. *Oil and War: How the Deadly Struggle for Fuel in WWII Meant Victory or Defeat*. New York: Morrow, 1987. (384 pp., $19.95)

In this analysis of the central importance of oil to the antagonists in the war, a chapter is devoted to the Middle East because of its importance as a major supply source for the British and a target for Rommel's forces in North Africa. Contains a substantial amount of tabular material.

Moorehead, Alan. *The March to Tunis: The North African War 1940-43*. New York: Harper and Row, 1965. (592 pp., out of print)

A first-person account of the war's progress from 1940 to 1943. The perspective is decidedly Western and provides insights into imperialist views and attitudes towards the Arabs. Although out of print, it may be available in public, school, or university libraries.

# The World at War: The Arab Role in the World Wars

*By Julia Clancy-Smith*

The present-day political map of the Arab Middle East and North Africa was formed by the twin forces of nationalism and imperialism. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the power of the Ottoman Empire—which had ruled over much of the area since the sixteenth century—was declining.[1] As the Ottoman hold over its territory weakened, European nations began competing among themselves for greater influence in the area by capitalizing on growing nationalist sentiments.

## Prelude to War: Nationalism and Imperialism in the Middle East

*Nationalism* as an idea developed in late eighteenth-century Europe. It embodies two major concepts: the cultural unity of people having the same language and history; and a political community whose boundaries are clearly defined to include all peoples sharing this cultural unity. In multiethnic states like the Ottoman Empire, nationalism created an explosive situation. Religious and linguistic minorities in the empire gradually demanded more political autonomy or independence, often seeking the outside assistance of European powers, especially Great Britain, France, Austria, and Russia. These powers, in turn, wanted to expand their own territory by acquiring lands held by the Ottoman Empire.

The attempt by one political entity to control or influence another political entity is known as *imperialism*. Modern European imperialism in the Arab world was first experienced in North Africa. In 1830, France invaded Algeria, which until that time had been an outlying province of the Ottoman Empire. Tunisia, also formerly a dependency of the Ottomans, fell to the French army in 1881. Morocco was declared a French protectorate (an indirect colony) in 1912, and that same year, the Italians took control from the Ottoman Empire of the area comprising present-day Libya. The European colonists often controlled the best farming land and ran the banks, businesses, and administrations of these North African Arab states. This situation was regarded as political, economic, and cultural exploitation by the Arab inhabitants. European domination helped promote a sense of nationalism among the North Africans, who began to demand greater political and other freedoms on the eve of the First World War.

Although the French occupied Egypt from 1798-1801, real European influence there began in the late nineteenth century, when the British and French gained control of the country's economy. In 1882, British forces invaded Egypt to supress a popular uprising and preserve their control over the Suez canal.[2] Formal British control continued until 1936, when the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty granted limited independence; full independence was not realized until the Free Officers' coup in 1952 and the British withdrawal from Suez in 1956.

The predominantly Arab lands of the Fertile Crescent (the present-day states of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Israel) were also affected by both imperialism and nationalism in the nineteenth century. Then known as Greater Syria and Palestine, this region was home to a large number of religious minorities, although Arab Muslims constituted the majority. European and American missionary activity in Palestine and Syria, which already had a substantial number of Arab Christian churches, encouraged cultural ties with the West. Along with the missionaries came the aspirations of European governments; France, Great Britain, and Russia all sought local allies among various Arab communities in Greater Syria and Palestine.

Another type of nationalism—political Zionism—was also introduced in Palestine at the end of the nineteenth century. Zionism was an ideology that arose in eastern Europe in the 1880s and promoted the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine for European Jews suffering from persecution in central and eastern Europe. From the late nineteenth cen-

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1. The Ottoman Empire was the last of the great Islamic empires. Beginning in about AD 1300 as a principality, it was well on its way to becoming a major world power by AD 1500. At its greatest extent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Ottoman Empire extended from Persia (Iran) almost to Vienna (Austria), across North Africa to Algeria, and south along the fringes of the Arabian Peninsula.

2. Soon after the Suez canal opened in 1869, Britain became its main user. The canal proved an invaluable shortcut to India for the British, who no longer had to send ships around the Horn of Africa.

tury until the First World War, small groups of European Jews left Europe to settle in Palestine.

European imperialism also played a role in Mesopotamia (Iraq) and the Arabian Peninsula. In 1839, the port of Aden (Yemen) was seized by the British and became an indirectly ruled colony. British interest in Aden stemmed largely from its strategic location along the trade route to India. Then, in the years immediately prior to the First World War, the British navy switched from coal-powered ships to oil-powered ships. This prompted a significant increase in British interest in the region: first in Iran where oil was discovered in 1908, and a few years later in northern Iraq. Iraq also occupied a strategic location along the overland route to India. During the interwar period, British interest expanded to the Arabian Peninsula, where oil exploration began in earnest in the 1930s.

## World War I and the Arab World

By the eve of the First World War, the Ottoman Empire had already lost many of its former lands to European powers; only Anatolia (Turkey), parts of Arabia, and Greater Syria and Palestine remained free from direct European political control. The war began in the summer of 1914. Some of its causes were related to events and changes within Europe itself; others had to do with struggles among the great powers to carve up what remained of the Ottoman Empire. When the war broke out, two alliance systems formed. On one side were the French, the Russians, and the British, called the Triple Entente (which Italy later joined). Their opponents joined in what was called the Triple Alliance which included Austria, Germany, and by the end of 1914, the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman Empire's decision to participate in the war was a key event in the history of the Middle East, leading to a new political order in the region. In the Persian Gulf and Mesopotamia (Iraq), Ottoman armies fought against British armies often composed of Indians from the British Empire. In Greater Syria and Palestine, Ottoman armies initially comprising both Turkish and Arab contingents fought mainly against the British who were based in Egypt. The war brought hardship and suffering for all peoples in the Middle East: shortages of food and basic consumer items, outbreaks of famine, diseases, and loss of civilian life.

No military confrontations took place in North Africa during the First World War, but the contribution of Egyptians, Algerians, Tunisians, and Moroccans was nonetheless substantial. In French-ruled North Africa, the Arab population assisted the French and the Triple Entente in a number of different ways. Some 173,000 Algerian Muslim soldiers served in the French army, mainly in Europe, as did many thousands of Moroccans and Tunisians. Twenty-five thousand Algerians and thousands of Moroccans and Tunisians lost their lives in combat for France. Meanwhile, European countries lacked sufficient manpower to keep industrial production going, and several hundred thousand North African males worked in French munitions factories and other public utilities from 1915-1918. In addition, years of fighting severely disrupted agricultural production in many places in Europe. Vital foodstuffs produced in North Africa by Arab farmers and European colonists were imported for European consumption, often at the expense of the North African Arab population. Many North Africans resented this exploitation of their human and agricultural resources for the sake of an occupying power, and resistence movements arose throughout the region.

Egypt served as the single most important base of operation for the British army, which brought thousands of British Empire troops into the country to fight against the Ottomans. As a result, prices in Egypt skyrocketed and shortages of basic commodities occurred. Many Egyptian males were conscripted to serve in the Allied armies. Large numbers of Egyptians were forced to contribute money, labor, animals, supplies, and farm equipment to the military campaign. At the same time, civil liberties were suspended by the British, and many Egyptian nationalists were either jailed or exiled. Despite the harshness of British rule and the fact that the Egyptians were supporting a war effort aimed at fellow Muslims (the Ottoman Turks), they were instrumental in helping the British forces resist Ottoman attacks against the Suez Canal and Sinai in 1915-16.

As the war dragged on and the Ottoman threat to the Suez Canal increased, the British administration in Egypt sought to form alliances with various local Arab leaders. In 1915, British officials in Cairo began corresponding

with an important Muslim Arab leader in the Hijaz, Sharif Hussein of Mecca.[3] Sharif Hussein was favorable towards an agreement with British officials. In return for an Arab revolt against the Ottoman army, which would hasten the end of the war in the Middle East, the British promised Hussein their support for the establishment of an Arab state after the war.[4]

Provocation for the Arab revolt came in the spring of 1916, when the Ottoman governor of Damascus accused some prominent Syrian Arab leaders of treason. Many people were jailed and some were executed, angering the Arabs in Greater Syria and the Hijaz. Sharif Hussein declared a revolt against the Ottomans, which began in June 1916 in the Hijaz and moved up the western coast of Arabia and inland towards Greater Syria. The Arabs were under the command of Sharif Hussein's son Faisal, and the British provided material support and advisors. By December of 1918, Faisal and his Arab army had taken Damascus from the Ottomans. This victory ended Ottoman rule in the Hijaz, assisting the British war effort against the Triple Alliance in the Middle East. The Arab Revolt has assumed a symbolic significance for the Arabs in particular, and it has been romanticized by many Westerners as well, perhaps most notably in the film epic *Lawrence of Arabia*.

When the war ended, a peace conference was held in Paris (Versailles) in January 1919 to decide the fate of former Ottoman lands and peoples.[5] At the conference, representatives of numerous groups presented their claims. Feelings of nationalism ran high among the many different religious, ethnic, and cultural communities in the Middle East. The Arabs under Faisal hoped that the victorious powers would fulfill their promise and proclaim an independent Arab state comprising the Hijaz and the Fertile Crescent. Their expectations had been heightened by President Wilson's proclamation of his Fourteen Points in 1918, one of which put forth the principle of self-determination. Instead of being granted self-determination, however, the Arab lands formerly under Ottoman rule came under the control of France and Great Britain through the establishment of mandates. France was given the mandates for present-day Syria and Lebanon, while Great Britain received mandates for Iraq, Jordan, and Palestine. In Palestine, the leaders of the Zionist movement were promised a Jewish homeland by the British.[6]

The First World War was a major turning point in twentieth-century Middle East history. It brought to an end four hundred years of Ottoman rule in the region. It disrupted trade, commerce, and agriculture, creating economic hardship and social chaos. In Greater Syria, Palestine, and Iraq, the European mandates intensified nationalist sentiments. In North Africa, thousands of Algerian, Moroccan, and Tunisian soldiers returned home hoping that the French colonial governments would grant them greater political freedom as compensation for their wartime contributions. They too were disappointed.

Thus, World War I and its aftermath generated much discontent among the Arabs. The Europeans' failure to fulfill their promises of a nationalist state for the Arabs set off a wave of protests, demonstrations, and revolts. During the two decades between the world wars, nationalist movements gained strength throughout the Arab world.

## World War II and the Arab World

The Paris Peace Conference and postwar agreements failed to resolve many problems caused by the war years and also created many more problems among the European nations. Among them was the Great Depression (1929-1939), which devastated not only the West, but the rest of the world as well. It contributed to the rise of fascism in Europe—particularly in Germany and Italy—and the emergence of dictatorships and totalitarian states in eastern Europe. In September of 1939, Nazi Germany under Hitler invaded Poland and France, and Great Britain declared war on Germany. The Second World War had begun. A little over two years later, the United States joined the war on the side of Great Britain and the Soviet Union against the Axis forces of Germany, Italy, and Japan.

Since most Arab countries were under some form of either direct European rule or informal European political control, the outbreak of the war had an immediate impact on the Middle East and North Africa. Unlike the battles of 1914-1918, the military campaigns of the Second World War were fought mainly in North Africa and Europe; only after being assured of battle successes in North Africa—

3. The Hijaz is an area that extends along the coast from Saudi Arabia's boundary with Jordan in the north nearly two-thirds of the way down the Arabian Peninsula in the south. The Islamic holy cities of Mecca and Medina are located in the Hijaz. Sherif Hussein was the hereditary ruler of Mecca and a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad.

4. This understanding was concluded between Sherif Hussein and the British, represented by Sir Henry McMahon (then British high commissioner in Cairo), in 1915-16. The communication between them is known as the "Hussein-McMahon Correspondence."

5. The Paris Peace Conference culminated in the Treaty of Versailles. In another agreement—the Treaty of Sevres, signed in August 1920—the Ottoman government accepted the dismemberment of what remained of the empire. Three years of nationalist resistance to the terms of the Treaty of Sevres resulted in the international recognition of the Republic of Turkey by the Treaty of Lausanne in July 1923.

6. This promise was made public in the form of a letter from the British foreign secretary, Arthur James Lord Balfour, known as the "Balfour Declaration."




BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Libya in particular—did Hitler launch his attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941. Meanwhile, Arab lands further east were utilized in supplying goods to the Allies, and large numbers of British and American troops were also stationed there, in Iraq in particular.

Egypt's involvement in World War II was similar to that in World War I. Although most Egyptians did not want to fight on either side (and some supported the Germans if only in hopes that this would rid the country of British influence), the country was again turned into a major base of operations for troops from all parts of the British Empire. It became the hub of the British-organized Middle East Supply Center, whose factories employed hundreds of thousands of Egyptian workers to produce materiel needed for the war effort. As happened in World War I, the presence of some 200,000 foreign troops in Egypt caused a scarcity of many basic necessities. In urban areas, food riots broke out among the poor because prices were so high. The British also declared martial law in Egypt, and severe press censorship by British officials created nationalist opposition throughout the country.

For all their dislike of the British, however, most Egyptians supported the British against the Axis powers (Germany and Italy). In May of 1942, German and Italian armies under the command of General Rommel launched an attack upon Egypt and the Suez Canal. The Axis troops advanced rapidly into Egypt from Libya (colonized by the Italians since 1911) until they were only seventy miles from Alexandria. Then the tide turned during the Battle of El Alamein in October 1942, when the British army defeated Rommel's forces. Not only were advancing Axis troops stopped at El Alamein, but they were actually pushed back. This decisive battle in Egypt paved the way for additional Allied victories, including the successful landing of American and British troops in North Africa in November 1942.

The three French colonial states of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia were much more actively involved in World War II than they had been in World War I. After France fell under Nazi German control in 1940, the French colonial regimes in North Africa declared their support for the pro-Nazi puppet government in France. However, in Morocco, the Muslim leader Sultan Muhammad V courageously declared his loyalty to the Allies and refused to receive German representatives in the country. He also protected Moroccan Jews from persecution by pro-Nazi European colonists. In November of 1942, Morocco was liberated from pro-Nazi French forces by Allied—including American—troops. Many thousands of native Moroccans served with Allied forces in combat against the Axis powers, particularly in the Mediterranean theater.

After securing Morocco, Allied armies landed in Algeria and Tunisia. Here too, many European colonists and the colonial French governments were pro-Nazi. After the defeat of the pro-Nazi French regime in Algeria during November 1942, Algeria served as a base of operations for the Allied campaign in neighboring Tunisia. The Algerian population was called upon to furnish troops and supplies for the war effort, although they had suffered greatly since 1940 due to food shortages and epidemics. Many Algerian Muslim men joined the Free French forces to fight against the Axis powers in Europe and elsewhere, despite the fact that the colonial regime still denied Muslim Algerians basic political freedoms.

Tunisia suffered the most during the campaigns of 1942-43. German armies moved in from Italian-occupied Libya to fight against the Allies who landed in Tunisia at the end of 1942. Despite pressure from German, Italian, and pro-Nazi French groups, the leaders of the Tunisian nationalist movement—including the future Tunisian president, Habib Bourguiba—supported the Allies in what was ultimately a victory over the Axis by May of 1943. This ended the Second World War in North Africa and enabled the Allies to concentrate on other fronts in Europe and the Far East.

## The Road to Independence

Upon the war's conclusion in 1945, nationalists throughout the Arab world once again expected their long-awaited political independence to be granted. North Africans who had fought to defeat the Axis powers anticipated some recognition of their contribution. The majority of people in the Middle East had also refused to collaborate with the Germans and Italians against the Allies, and they too expected to be compensated by the victorious European nations.

Since Egypt had declared war against Germany, it was admitted to the newly created

United Nations as a charter member in 1945. By then, British troops had withdrawn from most parts of Egypt, except the Suez Canal zone (much to the anger of Egyptian nationalists who demanded full British withdrawal). British withdrawal from Suez occurred in 1956, and from then on, Egypt was fully controlled by Egyptians. In 1946, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan was declared independent, although British influence there remained strong until the 1950s. The same was true of Iraq which, while formally independent since 1932, remained under extensive British influence until the nationalist revolution of 1958.

Three new states came to full political independence in the Middle East soon after the Second World War: Syria, Lebanon, and Israel. Lebanon—which the French had separated from Greater Syria during the mandate—and Syria both declared war against Germany in 1944 and soon thereafter joined the United Nations as charter members. Only after the last French colonial troops left both countries in 1946 did they achieve true independence. The state of Israel was declared in 1948, when Great Britain gave up its Palestine mandate after years of nationalist struggle between the Zionists and the Palestinians, both of whom desired their own state. The issue of a nation-state for the Palestinian Arabs has yet to be resolved.

While new states arose in the Arab east after the Second World War, most of North Africa remained firmly under French rule; Libya was the only North African country to gain independence soon after the war.[7] Nationalist parties in Morocco and Tunisia had eagerly hoped to gain their freedom in return for their active support of the Allies. Instead, the French colonial regimes in Morocco and Tunisia suppressed nationalist leaders, sparking the outbreak of demonstrations and fighting between the French and popularly supported nationalists. Both Tunisia and Morocco were granted full political independence in 1956, mainly because the French were preoccupied with the war for independence which began in Algeria in 1954. The Algerian revolution against French colonial rule was among the most violent struggles for independence in all of Africa and Asia, lasting eight years. Not until 1962 did the French army pull out and Algerian independence was declared.

Even as the Arabs played an important role in the Allied victories of both world wars, these global battles had decisive results for the region itself. In both World War I and World War II, the Arabs served as soldiers, workers, participants in movements of rebellion, suppliers of commodities, and in other capacities as well. The wars changed the way people in various Arab countries thought about government, society, and politics. The First World War ended the centuries-old Ottoman Empire and brought the entire Arab world under some form of European control, while the Second World War and the strong nationalist movements that followed contributed to a new system of independent nation-states.

7. Libyan independence became the responsibility of the United Nations, since Italy—the colonial power in Libya—had been defeated in the war. In 1951, Libya was declared independent.

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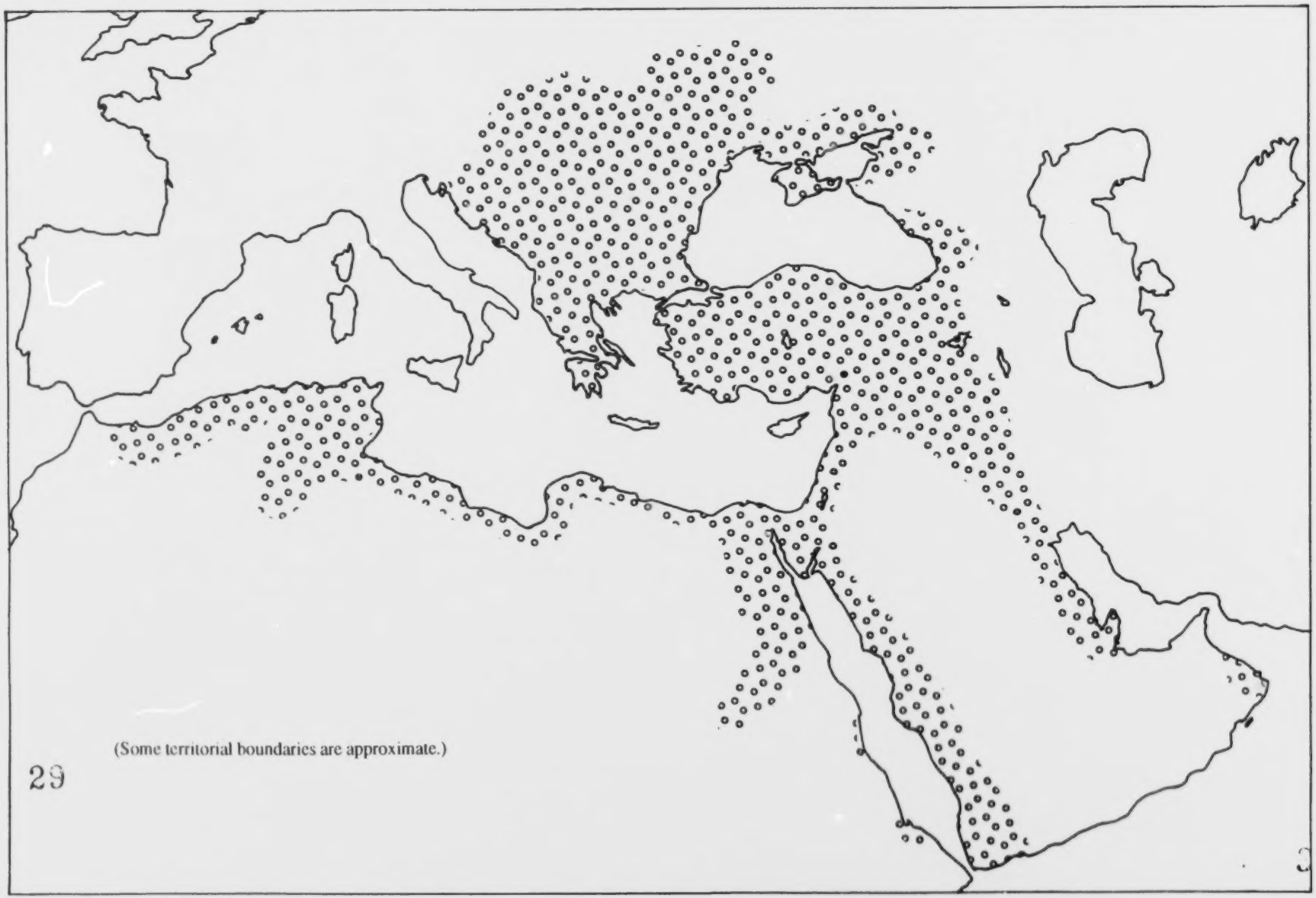
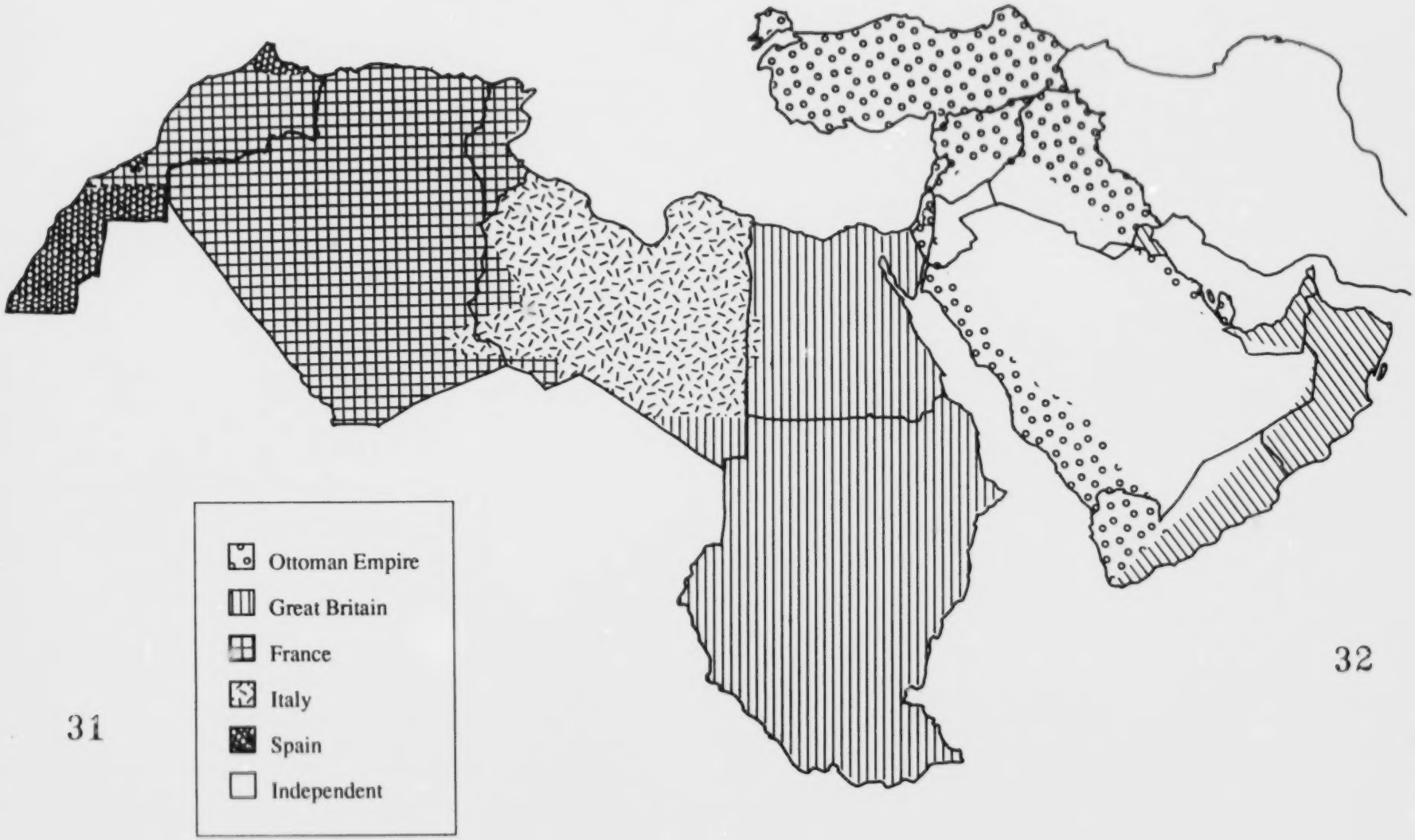
# The Ottoman Empire at Its Greatest Extent
## (16th and 17th centuries)



(Some territorial boundaries are approximate.)

# The Middle East Before World War I

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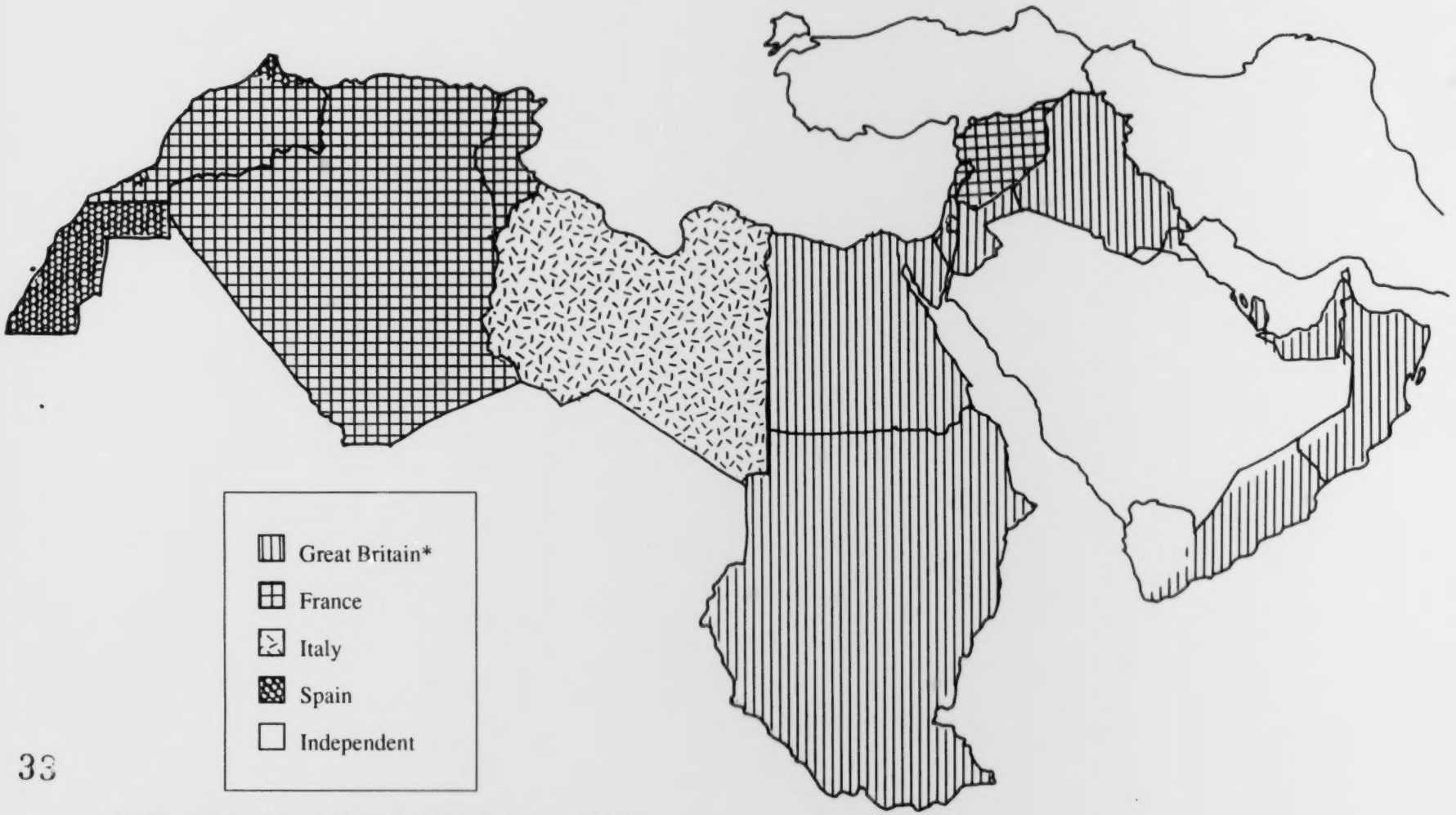
# The Middle East Between the World Wars




*Iraq attained formal independence in 1932, and Egypt was granted limited independence in 1936. In both countries, British influence/ presence remained substantial until the 1950s.

Some territorial borders are approximate.

# Tunisian Textbook Excerpts Grade 11

*Below are two excerpts from an eleventh-grade Tunisian history textbook, translated from Arabic. As you read, think about the similarities and differences between the information presented in this text and that presented in your textbook.*

## World War I
## The Reasons for Its Outbreak: A General Summary about Its Stages and Circumstances

The roots of the war lay clearly in the competition among European states and in the contradiction of their interests. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the European industrial states needed markets in which to sell their excess domestic production. . . . This need was inseparable from the need for raw materials existing in abundance elsewhere in the world. Competition for both markets and raw materials led European countries to invade other countries and create colonies.

. . . Germany signed a treaty with the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid on March 5, 1903 which entitled it [Germany] to a 99-year railroad concession, including the mines in a 20-kilometer strip along the railroad, and to the right to import all construction materials needed for the railroad without paying tariffs. England and Czarist Russia objected to the implementation of this project. England wanted to ensure its route to India and considered control of the Persian Gulf vital to its interests. As for Russia, it considered this expansion of German influence over the Ottoman Empire to be at the expense of its own interests and ambitions in the area.

Another conflict arose between Germany and France regarding Morocco. In his visit to Tangiers on March 31, 1905, Wilheim II gave a speech which included a threat to France:

> The objective of my visit is to let everyone know that I am determined to do my best to protect the interests of Germany effectively because I consider the sultan to possess complete sovereignty and freedom in his actions.

Thus, Germany succeeded in internationalizing what was called "the Moroccan question." Germany used the Moroccan question as a bargaining chip to gain territorial concessions from France in 1911. Germany sent a warship to Al-Ghadir harbor and the two European states competing for Morocco prepared to enter into war with one another. However, they reached an agreement by which Germany committed itself not to harass the French colony in Morocco in return for France's relinquishing a part of the Congo to Germany.

. . . It became clear that the war would be long and difficult and that victory would go to the countries with the strongest economies—those which would provide the most goods for their armies and civilian populations. The combatants exported the resources of the colonies and drafted a large number of those who had been colonized. Battles and naval boycotts affected trade between Europe on the one hand and Africa and Asia on the other. The European countries were no longer able to provide their colonies with manufactured goods. The U.S. and Japan greatly benefitted from this as they were able to provide their own goods to European countries.

## World War II
## The Fighting between the Axis Powers and the Allies in Tunisia and its Effect on the Tunisian Economy and Society

Tunisia became a battlefield between the Axis and Allied forces as a result of its strategic location on the Mediterranean. The Allies planned to land troops in North Africa . . . to purge Africa of the Axis powers in preparation for an Allied invasion of Europe which would open a new front and relieve Russia from German pressure. The landing operation was completed on Nov. 8, 1942 under the leadership of the American General Eisenhower. . . .

Hitler reacted swiftly. German units landed at the [airport] on November 8th without any opposition from the French forces, most of which were loyal to the Vichy government. These units were then augmented with more troops. The Axis forces were able to expand to the eastern half of the country before the arrival of the Allies from the west.

The military presence of the Axis forces was supported further by the arrival from Libya of Marshal Rommel and his Africa Corps. Meanwhile, Allied support came from the south as the British Eighth Division . . . arrived to the area in pursuit of Rommel. The Axis forces took the initiative, confronting the Eighth Division at the fortified Mareth Line. At the same time, they moved to the western front to shake up the Allied position there.

Rommel's health at this time was becoming increasingly worse, ultimately causing him to withdraw from Tunisia. At this point, the Allies surpassed the Axis in equipment and manpower. The Axis fought under very difficult circumstances because of the scarcity of equipment and food, while the Allies enjoyed control of the sea and overwhelming air superiority. In addition, the American leadership organized a French military corps to fight alongside it in the Battle of Tunis. . . .

The Allies massed their troops on the western front in preparation for the final assault. They launched an attack and occupied Benzert and Tunis on May 7. Axis forces had no choice but to surrender on May 12 and 13 in the southern region. The Allies captured a good amount of equipment and took one quarter of a million prisoners.

Some of the most important results of the final victory of the Allies in Africa were:

- The Allies controlled the entire mid-south region.
- North Africa was transformed into a base for important operations in Europe.
- The victory gave the initiative in the war to the Allies who maintained it to the end of the war.
- The Axis was demoralized, the effect of which was most noticeable in the Italians who had lost their empire and now had a front line in Italy.
- The French began to cooperate with the Allies, facilitating operations in France itself thereafter.

. . . The Tunisians participated in the war from within the French army. They helped to guard the Mareth Line beginning in September 1939 in order to repulse all possible Italian attacks from Libya. They were discharged in 1940 after France's surrender, but were again conscripted after the Allied victory and assisted in the operations which landed troops in Italy and France. They also fought alongside the Allies in Germany.

. . . The Tunisian economy was badly affected by World War II in general, and in particular by the battles which took place on its soil. Mining and agricultural production plummeted, foreign trade became paralyzed, and the people lived under severe physical conditions and low morale because of the difficulties caused by the logistics of battles and by aerial bombardment.

# Primary Resources Concerning World War I and World War II

## A.

Woe on us Wingate [British High Commissioner in Egypt]
Who has carried off corn
Carried off cotton
Carried off camels
Carried off children
Leaving only our lives
For love of Allah, now let us alone.

(an Egyptian folksong sung by people in the Nile Valley in 1918, quoted in *Britain's Moment in the Middle East: 1914-1956*, by Elizabeth Monroe. England: Chatto & Windus Ltd., 1963.)

## B.

Late in the year 1917, rumors spread that General Allenby, Commander in Chief of the British Expeditionary Force stationed in Egypt, west of the Suez Canal, was now moving northward across the Sinai desert heading for Syria. I say rumors, because in those days, there were no radios or televisions and the censored local papers, if any, could not publish any discouraging news to a population whose loyalty to the Ottoman Empire was extremely in doubt. All bad news to the government meant good news to us. This was true. In 1917, most of the Arab people prayed for an Allied victory over the Turks. It was because we wanted to be independent of Turkish domination. The few people who prayed for the opposite result were some old people with a different view, like Prof. Jabir Dumit, professor of Arabic at S.P.C. [Syrian Protestant College, now the American University of Beirut]. The professor assured us that the joy of an Allied victory would not last much longer than a honeymoon and that the victorious Allies would not fail to dominate us and divide us in a manner much more destructive than the Turks ever did! "We are now one people, but the Allies will make of us many peoples in many countries," the professor said. But we did not believe Professor Dumit. The English, the French and the American missionaries who were with us were good people and some of them were exemplary in many ways; and how could their governments be different! Consequently, we continued to pray for Allenby's advance and we considered his army to be the army of liberation which was to deliver us from Turkish oppression.

(from *The Palestinians: A Detailed Documented Eyewitness History of Palestine Under British Mandate*, by Izzat Tannous. New York: I.G.T. Company, 1988.)

## C.

We have heard with much regret that you are fighting against us who are working for the sake of preserving the edicts of the Holy Moslem Religion from being altered and for liberating all Arabs from the Turkish Rule. We believe that the Real Truth has not reached you. We have therefore sent you this 'Proclamation' to assure you that we are fighting for the two Noble Aims: The Preservation of the Religion and the Freedom of Arabs generally. The Arab Kingdom has been for a long time in bondage to the Turks, who have killed your brethren and crucified your men and deported your women and families and have altered your religion. How then can you stand this and bear the bitterness of continuing with them and agree to assist them? Come and join us who are labouring for the sake of Religion and Freedom of the Arabs, so that the Arab Kingdom may again become what it was during the time of your fathers.

(text of a leaflet dropped by planes over Syria by the British during World War I, as quoted in *The Palestinians: A Detailed Documented Eyewitness History of Palestine Under British Mandate*, by Izzat Tannous. New York: I.G.T. Company, 1988.)

## D.

June 1, 1943

Mr. Franklin Roosevelt,
President of the Republic of the
United States of America,
Washington.

Mr. President:

With strong feelings of respect and liking toward the great American Democracy which is fighting to save throughout the world the principles of liberty and justice, the head of the Destour sends you the greetings and congratulations of the Tunisian people on the splendid victory of the allied armies in Africa.

The Destourian party, which has been fighting for so many years for these same principles, had placed the greatest hopes on the victory of the democracies. Engaged in an unequal combat against the French colonial system which systematically pursues the destruction of the State and the assimilation of the people, for the benefit of the protectorate, which refuses to see in Tunisia anything but a field for ex-

ploitation and a land for peopling, and which for that reason pursues with its pitiless repression the Great Destourian Party which embodies the will to resistance in the country, the people of Tunisia were naturally on the side of those who entered the war to assure the weak peoples their right to life.

We rightly believed that, fighting for a new and more humane world from which racial prejudice would be forever banished, the great democracies could not exclude from it the peoples of colonies and the Tunisian people in particular, which has a right to life, no less than its brothers of Europe or America.

Our hopes were all the more justified as the new world in question, while it represents immense progress on the moral plane, is likewise necessitated in the political domain because it alone will be in a position to put an end to the appetite for conquest and the wars of hegemony which have so often decimated our poor human race.

This conviction, deeply fixed within us, has caused us to remain stubbornly faithful to the cause of the democracies despite all the advances, all the shrewdness, all the pressure of the Axis powers, and has led us never to cease to believe in the victory of the former. In our dungeons in France as well as in the palaces placed at our disposal by the Italian Government, this was with us an almost religious profession of faith, perhaps because, without having admitted it, we felt that our only chance of salvation lay in that victory.

Unfortunately, the entry of the allied troops into Tunis, far from bringing more liberty and justice to the people, has brought into power certain partisans of the policy of assimilation to the extreme, "with its corollaries in case of the inevitable failure: arbitrary action and contraint."

The repression of the Tunisian patriots which had lasted since the occurrences of April 9, 1938, and which had dispersed the militant members and leaders of the party by the thousands among the prisons and concentration camps of France and Tunisia, this terrible repression from which there was a moment of respite (ironically enough) only during the Germano-Italian occupation, has been resumed at an accelerated rate. And because of the terror which weighs upon the country, the leaders of Free France have, by an unheard of act of violence, evidently inspired by the desire to humiliate and terrorize the people, deposed the legitimate Sovereign of the country, Sidi Moncef Pasha-Bey, who, despite the advances and the pressure of the Germans and Italians, had stubbornly remained neutral and faithful to the French protectorate.

Today they are engaged, by a series of decrees, in completing the dismemberment and the annihilation of the last vestiges still remaining of the Tunisian personality, which the treaties had strictly respected, however. That is camouflaged annexation, preceding annexation pure and simple, which would make of Tunisia a French Department and of the Tunisian people a formless aggregate without a country.

Thus by an irony of fate that is particularly painful to our hearts as democrats, the victory of the democracies in Tunisia has established there methods that are most authentically fascist.

That state of affairs will certainly be taken advantage of, if it has not already been, by the enemy's propaganda, not only among the Tunisian people, among whom the friends of France are somewhat disoriented and are losing ground, but among the Arab-Muslim peoples, whose attachment to the democratic principles has been a great aid to the war effort of the Allies so far.

The day following the victory of Tunisia, I called upon the Tunisian people to form one bloc with France for a work of reconstruction and concord, and to leave until after the war the solution of political problems. The Resident reacted by forbidding the appearance of that article, which evidently did not square with his plans, and by ordering my arrest and that of my comrades. No collaboration from the Party was wanted. In fact, it certainly cannot collaborate on the basis of the present "reforms," which constitute a decided step backward as compared to the status prevailing before the war.

The state of crisis which characterized the political atmosphere in Tunisia at this time could not leave the Anglo-Saxon powers cold, which are assuming the moral and material direction of the coalition. Such errors, due to a spirit of vengeance or to narrow political views may bring to naught the Allies' war effort by alienating from them valuable friendships.

We are placing all our hopes in you, that Free France, which is fighting against Nazi slavery, may not treat the Tunisians as slaves and may practice with respect to them a policy more in keeping with its genius and its traditions.

In its present distress the Tunisian people does not wish to despair of the justice of men. It is directing its glances towards the head of the great American democracy, for a supreme appeal for aid.

I venture to hope that this touching appeal of a small people which does not want to die, to the head of a free and powerful democracy, will not have been made in vain.

Please accept, Mr. President, together with my best regards, the homage of my admiration and my respect.

General Secretary of the Destourian Party

Habib Bourguiba (signed)

(letter from future Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba to U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, sent from the American Consulate General at Tunis, June 7, 1943. Original and translation on file at the National Archives in Washington, DC.)

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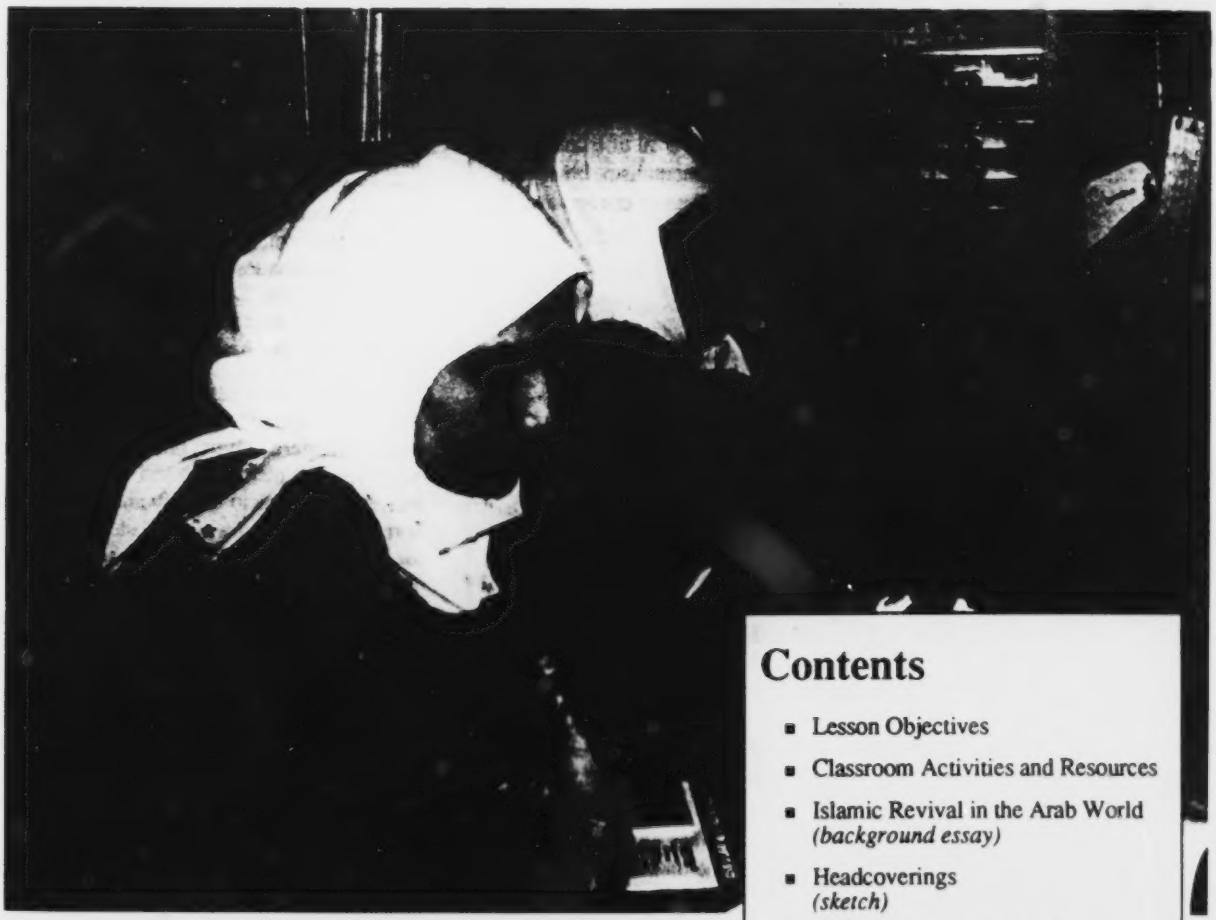

# Islamic Revival in the Arab World

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# Lesson Plan
# Islamic Revival in the Arab World

John Hergesheimer developed the lesson plan for this issue of *Arab World Almanac*. Mr. Hergesheimer teaches world cultures at Norwalk High School in Norwalk, California. He is also newsletter editor for the California Council for the Social Studies.

The resurgence of Islam in the Arab world began in the late eighteenth century in partial reaction to the decline of Islamic civilization and the encroachment of the West on Muslim lands. Disillusionment with Western models has encouraged the promotion of a return to Islamic models of society and government. One approach to Islamic revival is *fundamentalism*, in which adherents promote social reform through a very literal interpretation of the religion's sacred writings. The current revival of Islam is much more than just fundamentalism, however, as Muslims approach the ideas of change and reform in many different ways.

## Lesson Objectives

After completing this lesson, students should be able to:

- Discuss the historical roots of the Islamic revival in the Arab world, including the relationship between the West and the Arab world
- Describe the Arab world's various responses to the challenges of Western culture
- Explain the difference between "fundamentalism" and other approaches to Islamic revivalism
- Compare the relationship between sacred and secular in the Muslim world with that in the United States
- Identify the Arab world and the larger Muslim world on a map, and cite general information about the distribution of Muslims throughout the world
- Discuss the use of clothing to make statements about religious and cultural beliefs, and the extent to which this information can be accurately interpreted by persons outside the culture in question

## Classroom Exercises and Activities

✚ Distribute copies of the essay "Islamic Revival in the Arab World" (or, incorporate the information contained in the essay into your own lecture). Some terms important to an understanding of the essay but with which students may not be familiar have been printed in red. You may wish to ask students to research these terms or discuss them in class. If so, underline the highlighted terms before photocopying the essay. The following discussion questions focus on the essay's main themes and further the lesson objectives outlined above.

**1.** What are we to call the phenomenon that is energizing the Islamic world? A number of terms have been used, including: revival, resurgence, traditionalism, purification, and fundamentalism. Ask students to define these terms. What shades of meaning distinguish one from another? After reading the essay, which one(s) seem to best describe what's happening in the Arab world today?

**2.** In part, the resurgence of Islam in the Arab world today is a reaction to the intrusion of Western culture, practices, and values which violate many Arab and Muslim values. Ask students to identify and discuss historical situations in which Western culture has intruded on the Arab world and describe the forms such intrusions have taken. Students may wish to consider such historical developments as **a)** the Crusades, **b)** the British occupation of Egypt in the 1880s, **c)** the League of Nations mandates, **d)** the British and American ownership of Middle Eastern oil companies, **e)** the establishment of and Western support for Israel, and **f)** the swift Western response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990. (Many of these events are mentioned in the essay.) Students should understand that Western intentions in these situations may differ from how they are perceived by the Arabs.

**3.** Discuss the events mentioned in the essay which demonstrated to Arabs that Islam might be more effective than nationalism against the encroachment of the West. Can you think of other examples where Islam has been upheld as the unifying factor among Arabs against Western actions?

**4.** Ask students to research the basic tenets of American Protestant fundamentalists. Dis-

cuss the extent to which their beliefs and goals are similar to those of Muslim fundamentalists. How closely do the conditions against which they are reacting resemble those to which Muslims are reacting? Does this comparison suggest the existence of a more generic "religious fundamentalism" that might be found in many religions? Explain your answers.

5. Review the list of Islamic revivalist perspectives on page 6. Which of these perspectives would you have attributed to Islamic revivalists before reading the essay? If many of your answers fall into the "radical activist" category, discuss how you might have gained this impression even though this group represents only a minority of Islamic revivalists.

6. The reaction of Western nations to the Islamic revival in the Arab world will be important in determining future international relations between the two regions. Ask students to assume the role of foreign policy advisors to the U.S. government. Ask them to identify foreign policy alternatives for dealing with Islamic governments and with Arab governments of nations which have politically strong Islamic movements. Have them debate the pros and cons of the policy alternatives suggested.

✚ Many people in the Arab world are demonstrating their loyalty to Islamic beliefs by returning to traditional practices, including traditional dress. In Egypt, for example, many women have adopted traditional headcoverings, such as the *tarhah* accompanying this issue of *Arab World Almanac*. This headcovering has become a symbol of the Islamic resurgence in Egypt. The tarhah is worn by the vast majority of urban working and nonworking women from all classes, and by practically all young Egyptian women who are adopting a traditional mode of dress.

The tarhah is worn as follows: the long side of the triangle runs along the woman's forehead, while the tip of the triangle with the most beading should fall down the center of the woman's back. The two outer corners of the triangle are wrapped around the neck and secured behind it so that they also hang down the woman's back.

1. The use of particular types of clothing to "make a statement" about one's beliefs is not new in history. It goes on all the time in American society. Ask students to give some examples of clothing worn in the United States today that convey to strangers something about the beliefs or values of the wearer.

2. Encourage students to hypothesize about some advantages and disadvantages for an Arab woman who has worn Western-style dress and then adopts traditional clothing.

3. Ask students to discuss the advantages and disadvantages for an American student dressing so as to state his/her beliefs about **a)** musical preferences, **b)** political or social issues, or **c)** religious faith.

4. Ask several students (both male and female) to put on the tarhah and describe how they think it would feel to wear it **a)** on an American street, **b)** on a street in Cairo, and **c)** in a small village in rural Egypt. Try to elicit both physical and emotional reactions.

✚ Refer to the sketches of headcoverings on page 9. This page may be projected from a transparency or reproduced and distributed to each student. The headcoverings are identified as follows:

**A.** Muslim woman from Eritrea
**B.** Muslim man from Pakistan
**C.** Muslim man from Oman (Arab)
**D.** Christian priest from Syria (Arab)
**E.** Muslim woman from Thailand
**F.** Muslim man from Saudi Arabia (Arab)
**G.** Muslim woman from Turkey
**H.** Muslim man from Sudan (Arab)
**I.** Muslim woman from Syria (Arab)
**J.** Muslim woman from the Island of Jerba in Tunisia (Berber)
**K.** Christian woman from Mexico
**L.** Muslim man from Morocco (Arab)

1. Before informing students about the origins of the headcoverings, ask them the following questions about each picture.

a) Is the headcovering worn by a man or a woman?
b) What is the religion of the person wearing the headcovering?
c) From which country or region of the world does the person come?

2. Share with students information about the individuals in each sketch. In which cases were their guesses correct? In which cases incorrect? Discuss which aspects of the sketches might have misled them. Would additional details such as the color of the gar-

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ments or the rest of a person's clothing have made it easier to correctly answer the questions in #1 above?

3. Two of the headcoverings depicted are worn by non-Muslims. Why do you think these people have their heads covered? What reasons besides religious dictates might people have for keeping their heads covered? (Consider geographical, cultural, historical, and occupational reasons.)

4. Discuss how a person from outside a given culture might be handicapped in "reading" the statements made by the clothing of persons inside that culture.

✚ Distribute the short article "Sacred and Secular in Islam." Have students read it on their own or aloud in class; alternatively, incorporate the information into your lecture. (Terms with which students may not be familiar are printed in red.)

1. Helping students understand the distinction between sacred and secular in their own society will enable them to better understand these concepts in terms of Islamic society. Ask students to suggest examples of sacred and secular in the areas of music, literature, architecture, institutions (including schools), laws, and perhaps careers.

2. Discuss the rationale for separation of church and state in the United States. Would this rationale be relevant for Muslim society? Explain your answers.

3. Describe in your own words why Islam is characterized as a total way of life. To what extent can other major world religions be characterized as a total way of life? Does your answer depend upon religion alone, or upon culture as well as religion?

✚ Distribute the short article "Some Islamic Perspectives Today." Have students read it on their own or aloud in class; alternatively, incorporate the information into your lecture. (Terms with which students may not be familiar are printed in red.) Also distribute the selected verses from the Qur'an appearing on page 14.

1. "Discredited" is a word sometimes used in describing the attitude of many Muslims today towards Islamic modernism. From what you have learned in this article and from the essay "Islamic Revival in the Arab World," why do you think this term has been applied?

2. In all major faiths, there is a certain ongoing tension between tradition and reform. Can you identify some elements of this tension in Islam? In other religions?

3. Read the Qur'anic passages about food, interpretation, intoxicants, modest dress, and war. Discuss the different ways these passages might be interpreted. Which interpretations might be made by a modernist and which by a fundamentalist? To what extent do you think it is possible to generalize about "what Islam says?" (Students might also consider passages in the sacred writings of other religions that can be interpreted in various ways.)

✚ This issue of *Arab World Almanac* focuses on the Islamic resurgence in the Arab world, but it is important for students to understand that this phenomenon is not unique to the Arab world, nor does the majority of the world's Muslim population live in the Arab world. To reinforce this understanding, distribute pages 12-13, "Cartogram: The Muslim World." Each student will also need a sheet of quadrille or graph paper (five or six squares to the inch is preferable).

1. Directions for the cartogram are on the handout, but students may need some help in moving from the numerical table to the graph paper. This exercise forces students to think about the relative locations and shapes of the countries and regions indicated. (It may also interest students to know that upwards of five million Muslims live in the United States.)

2. Ask students to compare their cartograms with an ordinary map. What major differences do they see? Which countries/regions appear much more significant on the cartogram than they do on an ordinary map? Which appear less significant? Approximately what percent of the world's Muslims live in the Arab world?

3. Point out that the Muslim populations of these nations do not necessarily constitute the total populations. Students may want to research other religions represented in these countries' populations and think about what their effect on/reaction to Islamic resurgence might be.

**AMIDEAST gratefully acknowledges support from the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company of New York, which made possible the inclusion of a *tarhah* from Egypt as a supplementary instructional resource for this issue of *Arab World Almanac*.**

**Teachers are encouraged to photocopy any or all components of *Arab World Almanac* for classroom use.**

# Islamic Revival in the Arab World

*by John A. Williams*

## What is Islam?

Islam is one of the world's great religions, worshipping the God of Abraham worshipped by Judaism and Christianity. Muslims accept a religious law similar to that of Judaism, revere Abraham and Moses, and accept that Jesus, born of the Virgin Mary, was the promised Messiah, or Christ.[1] About one billion people are Muslims today, and Islam is the most rapidly growing religion in the U.S. and in the world. In thirty years—one generation—Muslims will probably outnumber Russians in the lands of the Soviet Union.[2] Islam is experiencing a powerful revival in the last years of this century, and this interesting situation needs to be understood.

While Islam is a religion, it has also been one of the world's great civilizations, rivaling the Eastern Christian and Western Christian civilizations and stretching from Spain to India and China. At the same time, Muslims think of their religion as a *polity*: i.e., a community requiring political organization or government. Islam dates its calendar from C.E. (Common Era) 622, the year in which the Prophet Muhammad founded the *Umma*, or Community, and began to govern it after leaving his city of Mecca and moving to his new capital at Madina.[3] This was the first year of the *Hijra*, or Emigration (often expressed A.H., or *anno hegirae*).

More than half of the world's Muslims live east of Karachi, Pakistan. Even of those who live west of Karachi, the Arabs are a minority. Turks, Persians, and Kurds are all Muslims but not Arabs. Neither are the Berbers of North Africa nor the Muslims of Black Africa, although both these African peoples have intermarried with Arabs throughout the centuries. Many Arabs are Christians who never converted to Islam. However, because the Arabs first brought Islam to the world, their importance to Islam is measured by more than just their numbers. Arabs today continue to play a key role as Islam is revived as an important force in the world.

## Muslim Power and its Decline

When the United States was born as a nation in C.E. 1776, the civilization of Islam was growing old and its empires were growing weak. For a thousand years, Islam had successfully challenged the Western world. In terms of sea power, productivity and organization, trade and gracious living, science and intellectual accomplishments, Islam had usually exercised an easy superiority over the West, and had even invaded Western Europe in Spain and Sicily. Western Europeans felt threatened and drove the Muslims out of Spain and Sicily, but they could not keep the Muslims from invading and dominating much of Eastern Europe (Greece, Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia, Albania, Hungary, and parts of Poland) during the Renaissance. In 1529 and again in 1683, Muslim armies marched from Turkey to Vienna, capital of the Habsburg Empire, and besieged it. But by 1700, the Western Europeans had begun to demonstrate a growing technological and organizational edge over the Muslims. Muslim empires had lost control of the seas and of vital world trade-routes, and during the eighteenth century, Muslim imperial power declined in three continents and was replaced by that of local strong-men. By the end of that century, European powers were beginning to invade old Muslim lands, and Muslim religious leaders were beginning to teach that Muslims had strayed from the path of right and could find strength only in a return to Islamic Law[4] and practices.

## European Expansion and Domination

Most Muslim rulers and people were confident that they would regain their old superiority, until 1798. That was a fateful year, because in July, Napoleon of France invaded and conquered Egypt, at that time a province of the Ottoman Empire.[5] For the first time, the Western world showed its will and ability to conquer and exploit old Muslim lands and their resources and populations. The British allied with the Turks to drive Napoleon out of Egypt,

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**1. Muslims consider Jesus to be the Messiah and a great prophet, but hold that he was a special creation of God, not God's son.**

**2. Muslims are the majority in the Soviet republics of Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, and the Kirghiz Republic. They are important minorities in other republics.**

**3. Both these cities, called "the two holy places," are located in Western Arabia. Muslims go on pilgrimage to Mecca and visit the Prophet's Mosque and tomb in Madina.**

**4. Law in Islam means much more than it does in the West. It deals not only with crime and punishment, but also with prayer, cleanliness, ethics, ritual, and virtually every aspect of life. Hence it has been capitalized here; to Muslims, it is The Law sent down from heaven.**

**5. The Ottoman Empire had its capital at Istanbul in Turkey, but at its height it controlled all the Arab lands except Morocco, as well as the Balkans and all the shores of the Black Sea.**

but they had their own ambitions in the Middle East as well as further east in Muslim-ruled India. After World War I, almost every Muslim country except Turkey, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen was under the direct or indirect control of a European power: often Britain or France, but sometimes Russia, the Netherlands, or Italy. After the war, the League of Nations granted Britain a mandate, or commission, to prepare the inhabitants of Palestine—which had been ruled by the defeated Turkish empire—for self-rule. During the war, however, Britain had given its support to the idea of a "national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine. Now, it opened the country to colonization by European Jews. Arab Palestinians protested this immigration, but to no avail. Upon Britain's withdrawal from Palestine in 1948, the State of Israel was declared. Neighboring Arab states joined the Palestinians in resisting Israel's establishment. In the ensuing war, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians became refugees, and the city of Jerusalem—holy to Jews, Christians, and Muslims alike—was divided along with the rest of Palestine.

The growing Western encroachment on Muslim lands helped nurture the revitalization of Islamic society that began in the late eighteenth century and is flourishing two hundred years later. Quite early, this sentiment took root in the Arab world.

## Fundamentalism

The Islamic revival began as a resurgence of fundamentalism. Fundamentalism is a phenomenon in all religions, including Islam's sister-faiths of Christianity and Judaism. It comes later in the history of a religion and says, "The way we have been going is all wrong. We have to get back on the road, and the way to do it is to get away from traditionalism and history and back to the fundamentals." The "fundamentals" are usually the sacred writings: in the case of Christianity the Bible, in the case of Islam the *Qur'an* (the words of God) and the *Hadith* (the words of the Prophet Muhammad). Fundamentalists usually interpret these writings in a very literal way.

All Muslims can agree on what the Qur'an says; they may differ on how to interpret it. Disagreement comes through the hadiths—the sayings attributed to Muhammad. The Hadith transmits Muhammad's *Sunna*, or practice, as well as that of the early *Umma*, or Muslim Community. There are many hadiths, but Muslims don't all agree that all of them are really from Muhammad. Typically, the various branches of

*(This list has been freely adapted from one appearing in Esposito, John.* Islam: The Straight Path. *New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.)*

### Common Perspectives Among Islamic Revivalists

1. Islam is a total way of life.

2. "Failure" in Muslim societies occurs when they stray from the ways of Islam to follow alien—e.g. Western—ways.

3. Renewal of Islam depends on a return to it, to the Qur'an, and to the path of the early Muslims.

4. Islamic Law is the only blueprint for an Islamic society.

5. Science, technology, and progress are very desirable and completely in accord with Islam, so long as they are subordinated to Islamic values.

6. The re-Islamization of society calls for dedicated Muslims willing to struggle against corruption and oppression.

### Radical Activist Perspectives

A minority of revivalists go beyond this program. We can call this fairly small group "radical activists." They would agree with the above and add the following:

1. The West is driven by hatred of Islam and a desire to colonize Muslim lands and exploit their people and resources.

2. Any Muslim government not based on Islamic Law is illegitimate and to be struggled against.

3. A holy struggle against infidel aggression is a religious duty for all faithful Muslims.

4. Muslims are commanded to be tolerant and friendly to Christians and Jews who deal fairly with them. Today there is a tendency to say, "Wherever we look, these people are on the side of evil. Therefore we can no longer treat them with tolerance." This is an especially radical departure from earlier Muslim practice.

Islam differ over which hadiths they accept as authentic. The fundamentalists have always been very accepting of hadith material—even weak hadiths[6]—preferring it to personal reasoning or a traditional practice.

In Islam, the important thing is not what one believes—all one has to *believe* is that there is no god but the God of Abraham, and that Muhammad is the Messenger of God[7]. The important things are what one *does*—that is, laws and ethics. These are derived through study of the Qur'an and the hadiths. One can see that schools of Islamic Law using different hadiths will arrive at different Laws. This has been true since early times. There is a fundamentalist school, which from the beginning accepted only a literal interpretation of the Qur'an and a great many hadiths and refused to take into acco reason or the traditional treatment of probl This is the Hanbali School, which today is p ticed in Sa'udi Arabia.

In 1744, a scholar of that school, Muhammad, son of 'Abd al-Wahhab, convinced the Arab ruler of the oasis of Dir'iyya in Arabia that they must work together to reform Islamic society through fundamentalism. This movement was known as Wahhabism. One practice they attacked was that of visiting the shrines of Muslim saints, even that of the Prophet. The fundamentalists claimed that veneration of saints was sheer superstition, incompatible with the worship of the one true God. From this union of the Wahhabis and the Saudi *amirs* (princes), the Sau'di state was born. It has had many ups and downs, expanding and contracting, but the Kingdom of Sa'udi Arabia today is the result of that religious and political alliance. It is the only truly fundamentalist Muslim state.

The idea of social reform through fundamentalism has been very appealing in the Arab world and beyond. Pilgrims to the holy cities of Mecca and Madina encountered the Wahhabi form of Islam and took its ideas home to Morocco, Libya, Black Africa, and even to faraway Indonesia. Muslims worldwide were attracted by the argument that Islamic society could be streamlined, and Islam united and strengthened, through fundamentalism.

However, the current revival of Islam is much more than just fundamentalism, because not all Muslims are fundamentalists. Many love their historical traditions and cherish the insights of the scholars of the past, and *all* of Islam is today being revived. How did this come about in the Arab world? We will see that it is in part a consequence of modernism.

## Modernism

In 1830, France invaded and occupied Algeria; in 1881, Tunisia. In 1912, France made Morocco a "protectorate," and Italy occupied Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, both of which are part of modern Libya. In 1882, Britain occupied Egypt to control its economy and the Suez Canal, which Egypt had built with international help. In 1898, Britain occupied Sudan, which had been ruled by a Sudanese *mahdi*—a religious leader claiming to receive divine guidance in reforming Muslim society and reestablishing Islamic power.

After defeating the Ottoman Turk empire in ld War I with the help of the Arabs who ght independence, Britain occupied Iraq, Palestine, and Transjordan, and France occupied Syria and Lebanon. The U.S. was critical, but accepted these arrangements. Finally, in 1948, the U.S. helped Israel politically and financially to defeat the Palestinians and other Arabs resisting the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Muslims everywhere became convinced that the secret of success must be to imitate Western societies, introduce secular law and parliamentary systems, emphasize nationalism rather than Islam, and imitate Western dress, Western architecture, and Western institutions. After World War II, Eastern European socialist states also became models for emulation, because these states seemed to be successful in achieving progress and independence from Western control.

## Revulsion with Imitation of the West

The era of imitation really came to an end in 1967, when Israel, backed morally by the West and economically, politically, and with American-made weapons by the U.S., launched a war against its Arab neighbors who had taken threatening positions, quickly and decisively defeating them. Israel occupied large portions of Jordan (the West Bank of the Jordan River), Egypt (the Sinai Peninsula), the Gaza Strip (which Egypt had administered), and Syria's *Jawlan*—the Golan Heights. East Jerusalem, including the Old City with its great Muslim

**6. A weak hadith is one whose verification is questionable.**

**7. This is why there is really no such thing as "orthodoxy" (right belief) in Islam. The word doesn't even exist in Arabic, which has a word for everything that Islam considers important.**

shrines until now in Muslim hands, was also taken. In one week's time, Israel doubled the territory under its control.

To add insult to injury, the West applauded the Israeli victory and ridiculed the losers. Something was terribly wrong, it seemed to Arabs. A critical reorganization of national and individual life seemed due. Imitation of Westerners now appeared to be a road to destruction; perhaps they must seek inspiration only in their own distinctive heritage.

Disillusionment with Western models picked up speed in the 1970s. In 1973, Egypt went to war with Israel and managed to dislodge Israeli forces from the Suez Canal and part of the Sinai Peninsula. The war was fought in the holy month of Ramadan when all the Muslims of the world were fasting, and it was accompanied by a great outpouring of prayer and religious devotion. Egypt's president, Anwar Sadat, portrayed the war as a Muslim struggle against oppression.

Egypt did not win this war, but it nonetheless succeeded in demonstrating that Muslims could now fight a modern war with modern weapons. That was a very important lesson for the world: not least, the Muslim and Arab world. This success paved the way to a peace treaty, brokered by President Carter, in which Israel evacuated Egypt's land and the two countries established peaceful relations. This satisfied Egypt's national objectives, but it did nothing for the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza Strip who remained under Israeli occupation. Egypt's separate peace was widely criticized by other Arabs as a betrayal of Arab solidarity. Arab nationalism[8] seemed to be abandoned, and people turned to religious solidarity for inspiration.

8. Nationalism is a system of exalting the interests of the nation over those of any other group. Arab nationalism promotes the unity of all Arabs irrespective of political boundaries or religious affiliations.

## Religious Revival Reinforced

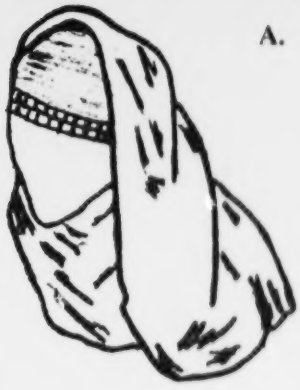
A second major event was the overthrow of the Shah of Iran, a man backed fully by the U.S. but recognized by most Iranians as a cruel tyrant. Against the Shah and his American-trained military and police, unarmed crowds—including many women who had abandoned modern costume for the *chador*, the veil of traditional Iranian women—demonstrated. These crowds were often led by religious scholars and demonstrated chanting the ancient Muslim watch-word, "*Allahu Akbar*: God is greater!" In the end, the Shah was forced to abdicate, and a new revolutionary government came to power. Here, an old Muslim people had grasped its Muslim identity and used it to face down a high-tech, U.S.-backed tyrant. Iran is not an Arab country, but this seemed an enormous accomplishment and was a source of enthusiasm throughout both the Arab and Muslim worlds. Perhaps other tyrants and other unjust situations could also be best dealt with by an affirmation of Islamic identity.

## Islamic Reaffirmation

All over the Arab world, even on modern university campuses, women have been abandoning Western-style clothing to put on "Islamic" garb which covers them from head to foot, leaving only the face and hands exposed. Students have joined "Islamic societies," and the press and television have carried features which emphasize that Islam has an answer for every problem. By 1990, the political language of Islamic revivalism had come to carry such weight that the dictator of Iraq, Saddam Hussein, found it useful to portray his quarrel with the United Nations over the occupation of Kuwait (to which Iraq had old claims) as a war of Muslims against Christian and Jewish aggression and oppression. This is particularly significant because up until then, he had represented a secular Arab nationalist ideology which was intolerant of the spread of Islamic revivalism.

It is important to emphasize that every aspect of Islam—not just fundamentalism—has received new energy, and that this phenomenon is occuring beyond the Arab world. Islamic banking and economics (which depend on partnerships rather than on the payment of interest, forbidden in the eyes of many Muslims), Islamic music, Islamic meditation, Islamic architecture, Islamic decoration, Islamic government, Islamic child-rearing, and even Islamic psychiatry are all receiving new attention.

Women's rights had made significant progress in the period of rapid Westernization in the Islamic world; today, many Muslim women fear that an uncritical return to tradition is threatening their gains. Christian Arabs and other non-Muslim groups feel threatened and isolated in the current Islamization of society. They see an Arab world developing which will have no place for them. But most Arabs are Muslims, and it is this majority who lead the way today. To them, Islam seems the best and last hope against an aggresive external world which appears to wish them harm.



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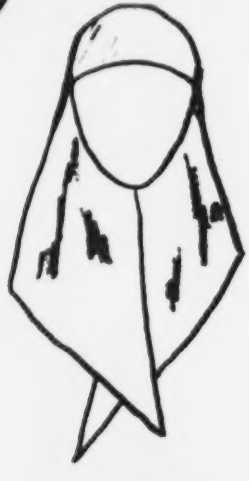

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# Sacred and Secular in Islam

It is commonplace in Western societies to think of society and even of our own lives as divided to some degree into the areas of the sacred and the secular. Church, synagogue, and mosque are sacred; government, economic life, and maybe school are secular. In a society made up of people of many faiths, this is a convenient and workable division. Our private lives may be as religious, as devotional, and as sacred as we wish, but when we deal with other people "out in society," we deal with secular institutions in secular ways. Hence, our religious differences do not get in the way of our social, political, or economic relationships. Secular does not mean atheistic or antireligious: just nonreligious. The American polity (the way the United States as a community of people is organized politically) has a particularly pronounced division of sacred and secular, which we usually refer to as the "separation of church and state."

For this reason, it is not always easy for Americans to understand the very different polity of Islamic societies. Perhaps more than any other great world religion, Islam directs its believers to a number of particular behaviors, both individual and collective. The Qur'an, in many ways, assumes that the community is made up of "believers" (Muslims) and prescribes a number of community rules and practices based on that assumption. Directives are given for marriage and divorce, charity, food and drink, attire, and virtuous behavior. Islam has certain expectations of governments: strict standards of justice, consultation in decision-making, and the accessibility of rulers to the ruled, among others. In this sense, Islam is more of a total way of life for its followers—as a group as well as for individuals—than most other religions. When the *muezzin* chants the call to prayer, it is not just to each Muslim as an individual; it is also to the village, town, or city as a community.

Many Muslims have difficulty understanding a secular society as something other than a "godless society," which for some is synonomous with an evil society. In addition, they expect Westerners to profess faiths other than Islam, but they find it difficult to accept that some do not claim any religious affiliation.

*By John Hergesheimer*

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# Some Islamic Perspectives Today

In any great community of faith, there are various ways to think about the truth, religious authority, and interpretation. It may be useful to consider some of the most prominent and influential viewpoints among Muslims today, although quick and careless labeling of various perspectives may cause us to miss subtle but important distinctions.

**Cultural Muslims** are persons who have inherited from family and community a general loyalty to Islam, but they cannot be said to have a strong personal commitment to the faith. They are proud of their tradition. Their observances of the requirements of the faith may be partial or casual: for example, going to the mosque only on feast days, or giving up alcoholic drinks (rather than fasting) for Ramadan. Members of this group may give little thought to the beliefs or behavioral directives of Islam.

**Modernists** are usually city people, highly educated and perhaps cosmopolitan, but not theologians. They believe Islam to be compatible with social and cultural change and do not reject Western influences. They believe the "real Islam" to be pure, dynamic, and flexible, and they view social and cultural change as the "inner reform" of Islam. They tend to interpret the Qur'an directly, bypassing centuries of *Shari'a* (Islamic Law) and tradition. They express political and legal problems in Islamic terms, making them useful to governments seeking Islamic solutions to complex contemporary issues. Modernists are a much smaller group than they were twenty years ago, but they are active and closely in touch with one another.

**Conservative Muslims** prefer the status quo and are not comfortable with political, legal, or social change. They accept the centuries of traditional interpretation of the Qur'an; indeed, they see Islam and tradition as being almost the same thing. The *'ulama* (religious scholars) have great power and prestige among the conservative Muslims. This group is particularly numerous in rural areas and smaller towns.

**Fundamentalists** are usually urban and well educated. They believe in a literal and personal interpretation of the Qur'an and have little regard for traditional interpretations. They believe that the Qur'an alone has all the answers. They are well aware of modern ideas and accept much modern technology, but they are essentially antimodernist. They react negatively to the West, sometimes describing it as "ignorance" in the same language traditionally used to describe pre-Islamic culture. Fundamentalists seek the purification of Islam; they believe that the solution to all problems is a return to the fundamentals of the Qur'an. They think that political and social action is necessary and proper to purify society and the faith. Fundamentalists are a small but vocal and very active group. Their leaders are more apt to be charismatic preachers than theologians; they see themselves as the conscience of Islam.

*By John Hergesheimer, based on a December, 1989 briefing by Dr. Barbara Stowasser, associate professor, Georgetown University.*

# Cartogram: The Muslim World

| Numbers of Muslims in Selected Countries/Regions (In millions) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Egypt | 47 | Iran | 51 |
| North Africa | 60 | Afghanistan | 16 |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | 165 | Pakistan | 102 |
| Turkey | 51 | China | 28 |
| Fertile Crescent | 33 | India | 88 |
| Arabian Peninsula | 28 | Bangladesh | 87 |
| USSR | 26 | Malaysia and Indonesia | 164 |

## Directions for the Cartogram

**1.** A cartogram is a map which portrays areas in proportion to some factor other than land mass: in this case, populations of Muslims. (An example of a cartogram has been reproduced below.)

**2.** Label the countries and regions shown on the adjacent map and for which Muslim population figures are provided. The population figures are rounded to the nearest million and are based on 1988 statistics.

**3.** On graph paper, construct a cartogram of these same countries/regions that will show their relative Muslim populations by having each one cover as many squares as it has millions of Muslims. Use one square on the graph paper to represent one million people (for example, 7 million Muslims equals 7 squares).

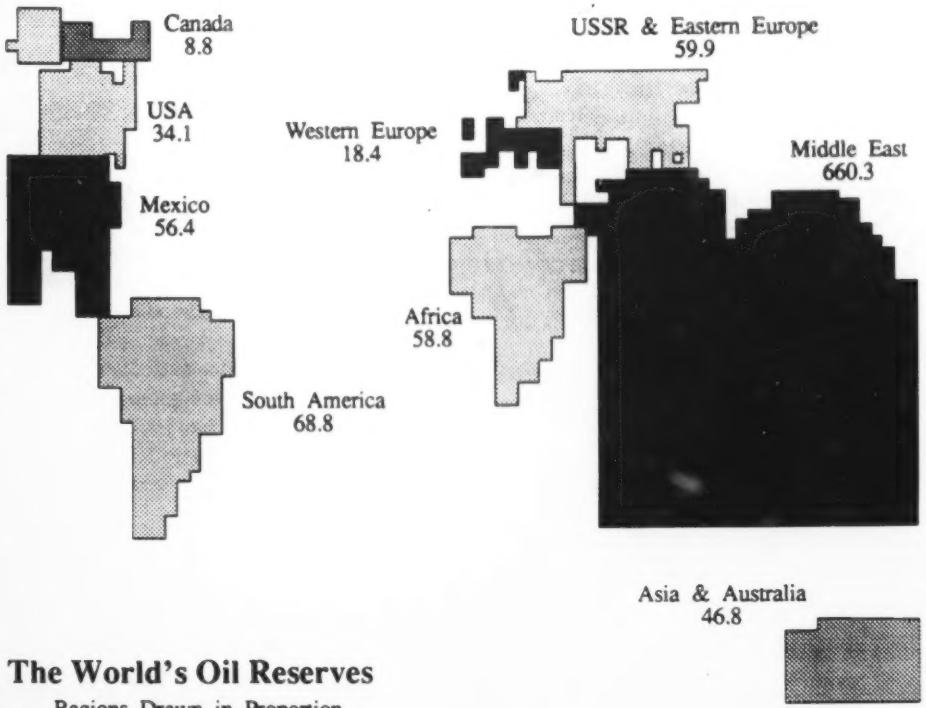
**4.** To the extent possible, the countries/regions depicted should retain the same relative positions that they do on an ordinary map.

**5.** Try to depict each country/region in roughly the same shape as it is on an ordinary map. This will not always be possible.

**6.** For best results, start by placing Pakistan in the middle of the page (slightly above center) and work out from there.

**7.** Label the entities you have drawn on the cartogram.

## Example of a Cartogram




**The World's Oil Reserves**

Regions Drawn in Proportion
to Their Future Supplies
(thousand million barrels)

# Selected Verses from the Qur'an

## Surah* V, verse 3: on food

Forbidden to you is that which dies of itself, and blood, and flesh of swine, and that on which any other name than that of God has been invoked, and the strangled (animal) and that beaten to death, and that killed by a fall and that killed by being smitten with the horn, and that which wild beasts have eaten, except what you slaughter, and what is sacrificed on stones set up (for idols) and that you divide by the arrows; that is a transgression. This day have those who disbelieve despaired of your religion, so fear them not, and fear Me. This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed my favor on you and chosen for you Islam as a religion; but whoever is compelled by hunger, not inclining willfully to sin, then surely God is Forgiving, Merciful.

## Surah III, verse 7: on interpretation

He it is Who has revealed the Book to you; some of its verses are decisive, they are the basis of the Book, and others are allegorical; then as for those in whose hearts there is perversity, they follow the part of it which is allegorical, seeking to mislead, and seeking to give it (their own) interpretation, but none knows except God, and those who are firmly rooted in knowledge say: We believe in it, it is all from our Lord; and none do mind except those having understanding.

## Surah V, verses 91-92: on intoxicants

O you who believe! intoxicants and games of chance and (sacrificing to) stones set up and (dividing by) arrows are only an uncleanness, the Devil's work; shun it therefore that you may be successful.

The Devil only desires to cause enmity and hatred to spring in your midst by means of intoxicants and games of chance, and to keep you off from the remembrance of God and from prayer. Will you then desist?

## Surah XXIV, verses 30-31: on modest dress

Say to the believing men that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts; that is purer for them; surely God is aware of what they do.

And say to the believing women that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts and do not display their ornaments except what appears thereof, and let them wear their headcoverings over their bosoms, and not display their ornaments except to their husbands or their fathers, or the fathers of their husbands, or their sons, or the sons of their husbands, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or those whom their right hands possess, or the male servant not having need (of women), or the children who have not attained knowledge of what is hidden of women; and let them not strike their feet so that what they hide of their ornaments may be known; and turn to God all of you, O believers! so that you may be successful.

## Surah XXII, verses 39-40: on war

Permission (to fight) is given to those upon whom war is made because they are oppressed, and most surely God is well able to assist them;

Those who have been expelled from their homes without a just cause except that they say: Our Lord is God. And had there not been God's repelling some people by others, certainly there would have been pulled down cloisters and churches and synagogues and mosques in which God's name is much remembered; and surely God will help him who helps His cause; most surely God is Strong, Mighty.

* A *surah* is a chapter.

# Suggested Background Resources

Arberry, A.J. *The Koran Interpreted*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1955; New York: Macmillan, 1964. (358 pages, $13.95)

Recommended by several experts as "the best English translation of Islam's Holy Book."

Esposito, John L. *Islam: The Straight Path*, expanded edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991. (251 pages, $21.95)

A thorough and up-to-date survey of the Islamic experience beginning with an introduction to the basic tenets of the faith and ending with a review of the contemporary Islamic resurgence. Intended for nonspecialist audiences, the author's work is a highly readable account of the perspectives of Islamic modernists and their influence on contemporary fundamentalist movements. This new edition (the first edition was published in 1988) includes case studies of Muslim movements in Lebanon, Libya, and Egypt.

Esposito, John L. ed. *Voices of Resurgent Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983. (294 pages, $11.95) Grade 11 and above

An excellent selection of articles by Western scholars and political activists from the region examining the interplay of Islam and politics. Though some are clearly for the specialist, several are appropriate for the nonspecialist. American perceptions of Islam are covered, as is the Islam of Qaddafi and Khomeini, the Islamic state and the role of democracy, and Islamic approaches to economic development.

Lippman, Thomas W. *Understanding Islam: An Introduction to the Moslem World*. New York: Mentor Books (New American Library), 1982. (196 pages, $3.50) Grade 11 and above

Provides an overview of the Islamic religion, history, culture, and beliefs and practices; the life of Muhammad; the Qur'an; law and government in the Islamic world; the history of the growth of Islam; schisms within the faith; and the Islamic world today.

Rahman, Fazlur. *Islam*, 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979. (286 pages, $6.50) Grade 9 and above

Considered to be among the best introductory books on Islam—a descriptive and interpretive account of Islam and the history of ideas in the Muslim world, written by a distinguished scholar who is himself a Muslim.

Robinson, Francis. *Atlas of the Islamic World Since 1500*. New York: Facts on File, 1982. (238 pages, $35) Grade 9 and above

This work contains 53 maps and 302 illustrations (192 in color) covering the Islamic world. It includes a useful overview of Islam before C.E. 1500. Each of the major Islamic empires after C.E. 1500 is introduced with an historical overview followed by a brief and colorful discussion of its society and accomplishments. The emphasis is on culture rather than history. Junior high students can benefit from its maps and the attractive display of pictures and their extensive captions.

Sivan, Emmanual. *Radical Islam: Medieval Theology and Modern Politics*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985. (218 pages, $9.95)

A study of the ideas of the "radical Islam" of the Sunni Arab world today. The author describes the historical context out of which this phenomenon arose. The Muslim response to modernization is discussed, including its rejection of Western social and cultural domination in the quest for authenticity.

Wright, Robin. *Sacred Rage: The Crusade of Modern Islam* (on title page): *The Wrath of Militant Islam* (on paperback cover). New York: Linden Press/Simon & Schuster, 1985. (315 pages, $17.95) Grade 10 and above

A recounting of recent events by a respected journalist, this work emphasizes the indigenous roots of fundamentalism in the Middle East.

**Grade levels are those suggested in the extensive bibliography, *Middle East Materials for Teachers, Students, and Non-Specialists*. Catherine E. Jones, ed., Cambridge, MA: Middle East Outreach Council, 1988. ($10.00 plus $1.70 postage and handling, available from the Middle East Studies Association, c/o University of Arizona, 1232 North Cherry Avenue, Tucson, AZ 85721; 602/621-5850)**